

Royal Beatings: The Gift as a Communicative Act
In International Development

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Royal Beatings: The Gift as a Communicative Act in International Development

The gift has long been considered a space where the seemingly contradictory notions of selflessness and self-interest are simultaneously at play, this being the paradox of the gift. This work first traces the symbolic and material interests concealed by the gift through generations of historical projects designed to support populations described as 'in need' and 'developing'. Recently, there has been a rise in 'one for one' models of consumption that promise gifts to charitable organizations in exchange for consumer purchases. The emergence of this model in the field of international development is described here as the 'Development Good'. It represents a significant shift in paradigms by revolutionizing the articulations and roles of development aid 'actors' and 'incentive'.

The cases of Product (RED), TOMS and The Canada Collection will be used to argue that the development good's true appeal is its broad communicative capacity. It will be suggested that the development good serves two key functions for private sector actors: 1) the re-positioning of brand, commodity and consumption; and 2) re-negotiating the bounds of capital within the field of international development. This is clearly the 'big picture' of the development good. There is, however, a competing narrative identified here that points to an agency and integrity in the gift that is beyond simple manipulations of capital. The model, therefore, becomes a space where one is continually negotiating issues of interest, altruism, capital and the agency of the gift, against the natural impulse to give.

Mauss (1990) and Derrida (1992) certainly created the groundwork for rich theoretical discussions around the possibility, impossibility and power of the gift. Emphasis, here, also falls on recent scholarship focusing more heavily on the intersections between gift and commodity, as well as a re-consideration of the gift and its enduring value in late capitalism (Gudeman, 2001; Bourdieu, 1997; Cheal, 1988; Kopytoff, 1986; Gregory, 1982). Of particular importance are Fennell (2002), Komter (2005), Berking (1999) and Yan (1996) for their descriptions of the fluidity around the gift-commodity relationship, critical to understandings of the development good.

Dedicated to  With Love

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active members of their churches and, more than anything else, they cared deeply for the people in their families and their community. Their example has influenced my interest in the politics of care, gender and exploring how we respond to those in need. I feel very lucky to still have my Grandma Robie, at 94, encouraging and celebrating this process.

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Introduction

*"An occasion both savage and splendid.
In real life they (royal beatings) didn't approach such dignity..."*
~Alice Munro, "Royal Beatings," *The New Yorker*

Rose imagines the 'royal beating' to be "an occasion both savage and splendid" in Alice Munro's celebrated short story. Her writing captures the brutalities and injustices that sometimes emerge from an ethic of care, or at the very least, from those who wish to appear as 'caring'. In this work Munro describes the power imbalance and loss of dignity suffered after an injustice, in this case a daughter's beating by the hand of her father. Munro constructs the delicate post-beating negotiations between the daughter, Rose, and her stepmother, Flo, as Flo tries to compensate for her part in the violence with chocolate milk, salmon sandwiches and butter tarts. Rose tries to resist her 'pay off' but shamefully consumes everything. She is painfully aware, with every bite, that she is easing Flo's conscience. However, her want for the goods outweighs her desire to take a stand. Rose understands the true meaning of the gifts left by her door, the restoration of power, the erasure of injustice and her own role in legitimizing, perhaps in some ways permitting, the 'royal beatings'.

These ideas translate well into the work of international development and corporate philanthropy. Addressing issues of power, need, exploitation, compensation and gift, the narrative provides a creative account of the very real issues tied up in models of assistance and foreign aid. Often framed as a 'splendid' intervention, international development has also historically been linked to having potentially 'savage' and

conflicting implications (Escobar, 1995; Easterly, 2008; Lewis, 2005; Jefferess, 2002; Cottle and Nolan, 2006).

Introducing theories of the gift, Karen Sykes explains, “the gift can seem like a small thing, but the habit of giving and receiving gifts resonates through human lives because the gift is more than the material object” (2005, p.1). The power of the gift to coordinate and construct social relations places the gift at the heart or ‘cornerstone’ of human life. I moved into the field of gift study because of a suspicion or a concern around an alarming trend in fundraising for international development initiatives. Notions of gift and philanthropy seemed to be taken up by the private sector, celebrity and consumer culture in ways that set up a bizarre exchange. Specific consumer goods were being marketed based on built in gifts to international development charities. More than straight cause related marketing, these appeared to be business models structured around embedding a ‘gift’ into the sale of commodities. For example, the sale of a t-shirt that promises one month of anti-retroviral medication be delivered to someone suffering from HIV/AIDS in Africa (Product RED). The models appeared to be that vulgar and explicit, a t-shirt for a human life.

When I reflect on my interest in this trend, Raymond Williams (1977) comes to mind. He uses ‘structures of feeling’ to describe the awareness of being in the midst of a social process or phenomenon, a realization and “experience of the present” (p. 128) as well as a ‘real time’ implication in the defining processes and moving parts of a moment. I recognized, as a consumer and an individual faced with the option of engaging with

these models, a shift in representations of consumer agency and articulations of response to issues of international development.

The discomfort around such models was something I couldn't really understand or make sense of in the moment but I had significant feelings toward the formations (which were really still in the process of being structured). The blending of market logic and development outcomes seemed to represent such different cultures and sensibilities that it became difficult to reconcile how the two could partner in a sustainable way for lasting change. These concerns, which continued to shape my own experience as a consumer, were lived out in personal ways, making the process of consuming such goods a very subjective one. They also became a space of reflection that has heavily contributed to my own theorizing around the model I describe as the development good (consumer goods sold in the name of international development). While there is that very personal element to the consumption of these products, the experience is one common to many given the overwhelming variety of 'gifts' in support of development projects now available through the market. The following is a reflective account of my first engagement with the development good model to contextualize the discussion.

Product (RED)

In October of 2006, I came across something that caught my attention on television. Irish rock star and activist Bono and American media personality Oprah Winfrey had left her daytime studio, mid broadcast, and seemed to be running through the streets of Chicago shopping. They were plastered in red clothing, their packages were red and the stores they entered were also draped in red. After watching, I came to understand

that Oprah was profiling the Product (RED) line. Her hour-long show was completely dedicated, for that day, to the model founded by Bono and Bobby Shriver. Oprah's website continues to provide the stills and information shared during that broadcast (Oprah Winfrey Show, May 20, 2012).

Oprah and Bono shopped up and down Chicago's Magnificent Mile, visiting the stores of Apple, Armani, Motorola and GAP, where hundreds of employees dressed in the 'Inspi(RED)' t-shirts, lined the stairs of the three-story building. Christy Turlington modeled a t-shirt that read Desi(RED) and claimed that the proceeds from her shirt would ensure that HIV was not transmitted to the children of 50 pregnant women. Penelope Cruz also modeled GAP's (RED) line wearing the INSPI(RED) t-shirt and a denim jacket. It was explained that the jacket and the shirt would provide a two- month supply of anti-retroviral medications and prevent 50 mother-to-child transmissions of HIV. Oprah exclaimed that she wanted the 'whole world to go RED!' Next, Bono and Oprah visited the Apple store where Oprah purchased ten (RED) iPOD nanos. According to the show, the proceeds from each nano provides two months of pediatric care for a child affected by HIV.

Kanye West then introduced the (RED) MOTORAZR V3m. It was stated that for every 10 sold, a year's supply of medication would be provided to someone in need. A (RED) Bluetooth headset was said to ensure that children left behind and orphaned by HIV/AIDS would have access to meals and school supplies for one month. Emporio Armani was next and at that location Oprah admired the t-shirts featuring symbols of hope and harmony. Bono purchased a watch that promised to provide one month of

healthcare and medication. Oprah bought 10 pairs of Armani sunglasses that amounted to a year's worth of meals and school supplies for several orphaned children.

The in-studio portion of the show was quite emotionally charged. Alicia Keys joined Oprah and Bono and she talked about her own organization, Keep a Child Alive, it too provides free pharmaceutical and healthcare to children and families impacted by HIV/AIDS. She and Bono performed a duet 'Don't Give Up (Africa)'. The proceeds from downloads of this song supported her organization (which in the past has also been supported by Winfrey's own Angel's Network). The following quotes came from the Oprah launch of (RED):

"Clothes are usually not important or significant, they usually just cover your body, but I am wearing the most important T-shirt I've ever worn in my life. I love this so much I bought one for every person in this audience...This red T is a revolutionary idea dreamed up by a man I call the reigning king of hope, and he just may be the coolest guy on the planet—Bono!" (Oprah)

"In some countries over a third of the people are HIV positive. Can you imagine that? A third of this audience is sitting there and they know they're going to die. We have these drugs. And they're not that expensive. We think it's a very American thing, it's a very European thing, to say, 'Look, these people are going to die; they don't need to die.' Two Twin Towers a day. A tsunami a month. One hundred fifty thousand Africans die of a preventable, treatable disease every month. They don't have to. And we think the Oprah kind of people will just not have it—they'll do the right thing, they'll do the (RED) thing." (Bono)

"Lots of people here in the United States have been trying to deal with the problems of Africa in a very serious way...But not everybody has the time to be an activist or put on their marching boots. So we said, 'How are we going to get the shopping malls involved? How are we going to get to where people live and shop...?'" (Bono)

"You can totally turn a person's life around by providing this medicine. ... It's the simplest thing to save a life. Every one, single person can be a hero for a dollar a day." (Alicia Keys)

"AIDS is 25 years old. I'm 25 years old. There are 25 million [people] already

dead...There is no reason why we can't join together and realize that this is something we have to do. ... On behalf of them, let me be their voice and say that there's so much more to do." (Alicia Keys).

Purchasing RED

Reflecting back on the spectacle that was the Oprah Winfrey launch of Product (RED), I can't explain what happened next. I found myself behind the wheel of my car traveling to closest GAP store. When I arrived, just following the broadcast, the INSPI(RED) t-shirts were completely sold out. There were odds and ends from the rest of the line and I settled on a red hooded sweatshirt that also read INSPI(RED). Clearly I was not the only one to rush out to the GAP in search of (RED) that afternoon.

As I was then driving home something wasn't sitting well but I tried to ignore those feelings. I went into my home, pulled open the bag and tried on the new purchase. All of those questions that were forming on the drive home suddenly hit me and I thought 'Oh no, what have I done?' I asked myself, why did I just pay the GAP to 'give' money to charity? Why did I get a sweatshirt out of the deal? Did I just trade a sweatshirt for medication? Are the two now supposed to somehow have the same value? Did I put a price on someone's life? Did the GAP? Did I depoliticize issues of care? What will be the impact of downloading these political issues onto the consumer? Is this how youth will learn about global issues- through celebrities and corporations? I took the sweatshirt off and it has never been worn again but it was too late. I had already been implicated in global networks or 'care' and 'response' that I didn't fully understand.

These questions stayed with me and I struggled to weigh the issues of intervention against cycles of consumption. (RED) did represent some brands I regularly

use and I would likely be purchasing from them again. Didn't it just make sense to buy (RED)? Yet it continued to feel so very wrong as the lines drawn between lives saved and items purchased felt vulgar. The stronger my reaction to (RED) the more confused I was about my initial enthusiastic response. What was it about the (RED) model that caused me to ignore my politics, the politics of the model and engage in what I imagined to be a very uncharacteristic way? In trying to make sense of it, I feel I was most swayed by the communicative capacity of the model. As I noted above, the launch of (RED) was wildly emotional. The imagery of transformation in people's lives, the testimonials, the music, the passionate pleas- it was all rather intoxicating. The power of this model was framed as innovative and unparalleled. To then have some of the most charismatic and powerful personalities on the planet (as will be seen in the list of endorsers in chapter four) transfer some of that power onto the consumer, was really quite persuasive. Yet, in time, these forces began to fall away and the politics of the model and consumption became more and more unsettling. What I didn't know at the time, was that I was struggling with the key paradox of the gift, its ability to present as generous, even altruistic, while simultaneously coordinating multiple material, cultural and symbolic returns (Maus, 1990; Derrida, 1992; Godbout & Caille, 1992, Stirrat & Henkel, 1997, Kapoor, 2008).

The Cultural Power of RED

There are so many young people today who feel absolutely helpless and powerless in the face of global insecurity and (RED) appear to be structured to put power back into the hands of the consumer. The idea of reclaiming that power and participating in change is energizing and even moving. It might be part illusion but the power of this notion

clearly holds tremendous currency for individuals. Additionally, (RED) creates a space for action in a world that is increasingly apathetic toward partisan politics. Constructed around ideas of agency and power, models such as (RED) are framed as fulfilling individuals' needs as citizens and consumers but at a very base level as human beings. That 'humanity', the provision of medical treatment (extension life), connects with individuals on a very personal and emotional level. The rawness or the simplicity of that plea- to save lives- allows individuals to 'forget the rest'. It erases the politics of trading luxury goods for care. The personalities and celebrities facilitate this process of erasure by granting such models a degree of authority and legitimacy that further enables individuals to trust in (RED) and ease those critical voices in their head.

I'm certainly not suggesting that (RED) necessarily 'dupes' consumers into believing that purchases can stand in for traditional political participation but I feel at one end of the spectrum (RED), and similar models, do present as an acceptable outlet for 'gift' and a forum for political action while at the other end it at least provides a 'better than doing nothing at all' appeal. This is much like Zizek's (2006) notion of ironic distance, "even if the subject mocks a certain belief, this in no way undermines this belief's symbolic efficiency...I make fun of it to conceal from myself the fact that this attitude effectively determines my activity". Sometimes we recognize the problematics and politics of a space, situation or structure but continue to be implicated or implicate ourselves. That recognition creates a bit of critical distance (perhaps this acknowledgement somehow provides a degree of resistance) but ultimately individuals, myself included, often remain implicated in these flows of gift directly or through more

general consumer practices. Either way, for many people, a model like Product (RED) serves as an 'acceptable' outlet for the impulse to give.

Even more persuasive than Product (RED)'s transferring of agency or power to the consumer, speaking from my own perspective, was the communicative capacity of the goods. I think this is true for many who seek out products from the (RED) line, although it took some time for me to isolate, understand and articulate this interest. Watching the *Oprah Winfrey* broadcast, as noted above, was very interesting. I felt like they were speaking to issues I valued but didn't really have or hadn't yet found a platform for discussing. People's lives are busy and there are many worthy causes to support (financially, in-kind and symbolically). It would be very difficult, if not impossible, to be as active or vocal as one would like on all of the causes that appear meaningful. In my mind, (RED) offered a way for me to say 'this matters to me' in a very public way. I think that I probably, naively, imagined wearing these items to be a political act or statement in support of the fight against global injustice.

It has been a number of years since I first interacted with the (RED) model and perhaps I am not recounting those feelings exactly as they happened but I recall the communicative element of the model to be more interesting than the chain of support that would be initiated. The idea of the 'gift' given to those in need stirred emotion but the idea of communication and awareness attached to the products was, for me personally, a real lure. This led me to question: If the communicative capacity of the development good added this much value on a personal level, how did that translate into the interests of the private sector? As I further studied the relationships between capital, gifts, care and

development, I began to see the dynamics of the gift at play in strategic ways and the narrative of the gift articulated in ways that, yes, responded to issues of need but also created tremendous advantages for private sector partners.

Toward a Theory of the Gift through the Development Good

This work uses the field of private sector fundraising for international development to explore the theory, practice and politics of the gift. Traditionally, aid has been facilitated through multilateral organizations and bi-lateral supports. The model under consideration, the development good, represents a significant shift in paradigms by revolutionizing the articulations and roles of development aid ‘actors’ and ‘incentives’. This change in the culture of support for international development raised, for me, three key analytical questions: 1) Does this shift in response have the potential to impact traditional modes of response or change practices of giving? 2) Why are corporations and celebrities suddenly so interested in the field of international development? And, importantly, 3) Just exactly who benefits from these ‘charitable purchases and how?’

This work will argue that the true value and function of the development good, for the private sector in particular, is its communicative capacity. The gift tells a story and creates a line of communication between those that give the gift and its recipients (Fennell, 2002; Mauss, 1990; Derrida, 1992; Cheal, 1986). Some gifts are very public in nature and the narrative is shared widely, as is the case with development fundraising. Other times the story of the gift is used very simply to communicate meaning to and about self (Heron, 2007). Through this research, I will identify three stories speaking to the potential value of the development good’s communicative capacity- the re-positioning

of brand and consumption, the re-positioning of capital and the re-positioning of self though gift. First, the development good becomes a transformational space for the brands and wider practices of consumption. This work will discuss the ability of the development good to unlock the communications dilemma or constrained communicative capacity of more traditional acts of private sector social responsibility. It will then further explore the diverse ways in which specific cases of the development good are able to gift in strategic ways that create market competitiveness, enhance perceptions of brand image and re-articulating the 'impacts' of mass consumption as ethical and caring (as opposed to ecologically unsustainable).

The second critical impact of the development good is that not only does it contribute to the development of brand and the generation of profit but it also re-positions capital in the field of development. When the private sector participates in models that respond to the needs of vulnerable populations (taking on roles traditionally reserved for the state and civil society), there is a potential for conscious and unconscious feelings of indebtedness to develop that translate into unofficial symbolic and material perks. This could, potentially, re-negotiate ideas around the roles and responsibilities of the private sector in development, and ultimately re-negotiate relationships between the state, civil society and capital. Galtung's (1999) tripartite model of society will be used as a conceptual framework for considering these shifts. Once understood as a development 'stakeholder' or 'actor', the private sector creates a new narrative around global corporations' relationship with the people and industries of the Global South, which eventually becomes normalized, masking the concealed strategic interests of the gift. This

work will contribute to the already rich theorizing of the gift by positioning philanthropy as a medium through which the boundaries between the state, civil society and capital are being re-negotiated (often in the interests of capital). This is vital to both academic understandings of the gift as well as organizational, institutional and governmental policy relating to private-public partnerships, particularly when there are explicit strategic links between resource wealth, the production of knowledge and private sector interests.

Clearly, the ‘big story’ of the development good is that it is a transformational space for the corporation, the commodity and capital. I will, however, conclude this work by suggesting that when problematizing the relationship between capital and the gift, it is far too easy to fall into positioning capital as colonizing the gift to its own end. There is no question that capital strategically partners with the gift and benefits greatly from that relationship. I, however, want to argue that the relationship is more complicated than this simple one-sided account of exploitation and colonization put forward. The first three chapters of this research describe the cultural power of the gift through time and space as well as a genealogy of gift that demonstrates tremendous resiliency. To ignore the power and agency of the gift in this relationship is shortsighted and ignores the fact that capital is partnering with the gift for its truly transformative powers.

This brings me to the third or ‘other’ story of the development good. Recently, there has been a sharp decline in outlets and opportunities for gift that are recognized as ‘authentic’ (Gilmore & Pine, 2007) and acceptable. Many opportunities to give through the private sector are quickly recognized as superficial corporate spin (Blowfield, 2004; Chatterji & Listokin, 2006; Porter & Kramer, 2006; Jonker & Marberg, 2007) and rejected

with ease by individuals, however the commercial success of the development good model (and the consumer engagement required for this success) points to a recognition of those notions of authenticity and acceptability. This speaks to an agency or integrity around the gift that cannot always be overlooked or superficially manipulated by the private sector or other social, political and cultural institutions.

Clearly (though the politics of the model may be problematic for many), the functions and impulses served by the gift also appear to be found and fulfilled within the development good for many others. Through gifts (Mauss, 1990; Derrida, 1992; Bourdieu, 1997) and acts of service (Heron, 2007) individuals construct and position themselves in the world. The financial success of the development good models selected for review demonstrates that through this model, individuals are engaging with and embracing the idea of the gift. The story of the development good is about more than corporate and capital gain but it is also about a recognition of gift that can be used strategically by individuals. The model becomes a space where, not only is there an ongoing tension between understandings of interest and altruism (the paradox of the gift) but it is also a space where there is a constant struggle between the forces of capital, the integrity or agency of the gift and the natural impulse to give.

I will close this research by considering the mythologizing of the gift through models such as the development good, because this mythologizing and the narratives produced through myth conceal critical strategic interests. Two of the key narratives I intend to disrupt through this work include: 1) that commodities and corporations can replace, stand in for or represent global human responsibility 2) that corporate gifts and

philanthropy can simply stand in for corporate social responsibility. By problematizing these narratives, light is shed on the strategic interests concealed by the gift as they both intend to use the gift to distract from issues responsibility. By examining this particular framing of the private sector gift, the larger meaning of the development good is explored, which will ideally contribute to the de-mythologizing of the gift in development.

By speaking to the contradictions and paradoxes of the private sector gift, hopefully expectations for standards of responses move from attending to symptoms of illness to addressing the illness itself. Corporations must take responsibility and be held accountable for the impacts of production and distribution instead of simply trying to distract consumers with the mythologized gift, just as consumers have a responsibility to critically examine their own interests in notions of gift. The gulf between how the gift is intended, imagined and experienced has to be narrowed. By publicly and consistently questioning the linkages between capital and opportunities to give (particularly through models mediated by the market) hopefully the culture, practice and impact of the gift can begin to shift.

Structure of Presentation

To set up the discussion of the development good, the first four chapters of this work explore theories of the gift, the emergence of and relationships between notions of charity and philanthropy, the genealogy of the gift in international development and the rise of the private sector in development. Together, these areas focus on the cultural power of the gift, the transformative nature of the gift, the power dynamics and identity

construction facilitated through relations of philanthropy as well as the work of the gift in the field of development. Chapter four then examines and critiques the intersections between the gift and the market through corporate social responsibility and innovative market-gift models (philanthrocapitalism and creative capitalism). This chapter concludes with the introduction of the 'development good' model- a form of fundraising for development projects that relies on the sale of particular luxury items in order to garner financial support.

The remaining chapters provide analysis of the development good and the expansion of the market into the work of international development. Chapter five includes an in-depth look at the three case studies- Product (RED), the Canada Collection and TOMS shoes. Amongst the points of comparison will be identity construction, framing of the gift and use of celebrity. Chapters six and seven both provide discussion around the 'big picture' of the development good and corporate philanthropy. Chapter six first demonstrates the tremendous social currency and communicative capacity of development, aid and humanitarian response within (and beyond) youth culture through a close reading of the KONY 2012 campaign. This clearly demonstrates the ability of high-profile fundraising initiatives to command and control the dialogue around development. I also look at the ability for the development good to address private capital's communications dilemma in the field of corporate social responsibility and provide significant power in the re-branding of corporation, commodity and capital.

Chapter seven continues to consider the strategic interests of capital in relation to the gift. Galtung's (1999) tripartite model of relations between the state, capital and civil

society will be used to argue that philanthropy has become a global medium through which the boundaries of capital are being re-negotiated, creating increased (and secured) access to critical resources and control over the narrative of development. The interlock between philanthropy and capital will be further explored through CIDA's new pilot projects between mining firms and NGOs, serving as a prime example of the expansion and strategic interests of capital in development. Peter Munk's (founder of Barrick Gold) philanthropic investments in the University of Toronto will also be used to consider the politics of philanthropy, the paradox of the gift and the ethical 'grey area' that exist around the philanthropic gift.

The conclusion of this research proposes another story of the development good; that beyond simply serving as a space for private sector interest the model is also an outlet for gift that is recognized as 'authentic' and 'acceptable' by individuals. There is an agency and integrity to the gift that is about more than a simple manipulation on the part of capital. Chapter eight will also disrupt key narratives of the development good to illuminate the paradox of the gift. Finally, this research cautions that due to the gift's ability to advance the interests of the private sector, it requires tremendous reflection on the part of citizens. Rather than following our impulses to 'just do something' it is imperative that individuals carefully examine our investment in the gifts we give and abide by a 'first do no harm' approach to gifts (especially in the case of international development). In doing this we can begin to critically assess, problematize and shine a light on the hypocrisy embedded in any potential interlocks between capital, gift and philanthropy.

Chapter One

Theories of the Gift

Godbout has written, “the confusion between an observation of what circulates and the meaning of what circulates is the greatest source of misunderstanding in the theory of the gift” (2000, p. 41). This is a critical point of entry for discussing the implications of ‘giving’ in the fields of philanthropy, corporate social responsibility and international development. Although the goods and services rendered are not irrelevant, the meaning constructed by these exchanges and the relationships coordinated by the gift are sometimes overshadowed (if not concealed) by the hegemonic and cultural practices surrounding the gift. The visibility, generosity, materiality and moment of gift are celebrated and circulated but the conditions around the gift remain more obscure.

In his 1844 essay entitled ‘Gifts’ Emerson was particularly interested in whether an examination of the gift should focus on the object exchanged, on the social relations engaged by the gift, or the significant ties between the gifts and the relationships they coordinate (Schrift, 1997). This continues to be a concern for gift theorists 150 years later, as well as an explanation of why study of the gift remains critical to understanding the world around us. James Carrier (1995) asks researchers to consider objects and gifts as part of human relationships rather than simply “mass structures of meaning and identity” (p.10). Sykes (2005) notes that just as it has become impossible to fully understand individuals apart from their relationships with others; it has become impossible to fully understand relationships in isolation from objects and gifts. She adds that to fully account for social life the role of the gift must be explored. Its pervasive

nature across time and space suggests a cultural power so great and resilient that it continues to structure social, political and economic relationships around the world. Yet, in contemporary discussions of meaning and social organization the position of the gift is often ignored or concealed. Here, the politics of the gift will be opened up as a critical source in the wider production of meaning.

Through this study the gift is firmly positioned from a place of resilience as its ability to shrink and expand in response to changing social, economic and political conditions is clearly demonstrated (Zemon Davis, 2000). After having highlighted the prominence and position of the gift in writings that span time and space, this chapter will introduce the work of Marcel Mauss (1990) in relation to the gift. Mauss will then be used as a framework for considering the very possibility of gift, an exploration of the spirit or 'hau' that is suggested to reside within the gift and compel reciprocity, the function of the inaugural gift, gifts as stabilizing and destabilizing forces as well as issues of gender and the sacred. These sections will provide an overview of the dialogue around Mauss's work and point to both the limitations and enduring value of *The Gift* (1990) in studies of gift theory.

The foundational texts of Mauss (1990), and Derrida (1992) re-energized the field of gift study and will naturally serve as a basis for researching the model of fundraising I refer to as the development good. Mauss and Derrida speak directly to the key paradox that lies at the heart of the gift, its ability to present and be celebrated as an act of altruism while having a less visible tendency toward specific economic, symbolic and cultural interests or return. Though they lay the groundwork for a rich theoretical discussion

around the possibility, impossibility, power dynamics and spirit of the gift, another critical body of gift literature will be introduced. The development good exists as a gift-commodity hybrid, therefore emphasis will be also be placed on recent scholarship that has focused more heavily on the intersections between gift and commodity status as well as a re-consideration of the gift and its lasting value in late capitalism (Bourdieu, 1997; Cheal, 1988; Kopytoff, 1986; Gregory, 1982). Of particular importance are Fennell (2002), Komter (2005), Berking (1999) and Yan (1996) for their descriptions of the fluidity around the gift-commodity relationship.

As this research prioritizes the vast communicative capacities of the gift, moving from Mauss (1990) and Derrida (1992) to Gregory (1982), Weiner (1992), Godelier (1999), Yan (1996), Gudeman (2001) and Fennell (2002) was vital as these theorists represent a shift to more inclusive and richer conceptualizations of what is communicated by and through the gift. The gift always tells a story but when the gift intersects with the market and as a result marketing, the scale of that narrative and the communicative capacity is expanded considerably. Study around communicative capacity is critical to an exploration of the development good as it is this power to rearticulate issues of development and humanitarian assistance that make the model truly transformative for many participants, particularly the private sector.

The Gift in Time and Space

Mauss's influential text *The Gift* (1990) initiated widespread interdisciplinary dialogue around the nature of gifting after it was originally published in France in 1925 (*Essai sur le don*). The meaning of the exchange, according to Mauss, is that the object

builds social relationships between the 'giver' and the 'receiver'. He wrote that in order for populations to trade with one another they had to first lay down their spears and negotiate methods of exchange that avoided violence and death. Mauss's work is widely considered to have opened 'giving' up as a field of study (Schrift, 1997; Laidlaw, 2002; Kapoor 2008; Cheal, 1988). However, much attention had been paid to relations of giving prior to this seminal publication. The following examples demonstrate the importance of the gift in writing that spans time, space and culture.

The Ancient Gift

Dating back as far as ancient Rome and Greece the giving and receiving of goods and service were central to understanding the functioning of society. Visser (2008) touches on Aristotle, Seneca and Plato in her examination of exchange and gratitude. Plato's writing on the death of Socrates positioned his death as gift. As Socrates had made the choice to live in Athens under Athenian law he was bound to its rule of law, even though it served him with what has been described as an unjust sentence of execution. By not fleeing the city or escaping the prison (he is considered to have had several opportunities to do both), Plato argues that Socrates freely gave his life for the gifts that had been given to him by his city. Gratitude is therefore described as being, at least in part, responsible for cycles of giving. Examining the cultural power of giving, Aristotle and Seneca both wrote of the mythologized Three Graces. Seneca explains that they are often depicted as young beautiful women dancing in a circle because they represented the flow of giving, receiving and returning. They held hands with one another to illustrate the passing of benefits wore little clothing to show transparency in exchange, were virgins to

remind that gifts must be pure. Aristotle, writing several centuries earlier than Seneca, wrote that the Graces represented the obligation to give through exchange and reciprocity necessary to vital and effective functioning of the state and wider society.

Silber (as found in Vandavelde, 2000) outlines the privileging of giving in the teachings of most major religions with particular emphasis on Judaism, Christianity and Islam as well as Buddhism and Hinduism. Gifts in religious tradition range from gifts to Gods, gifts to religious institutions, religious figures and charitable organizations. They are described as happening for a variety of reasons. Heim's (2004) text, *Theories of the Gift in South Asia* positions the gift to be central to the cultural practices of 'Premodern South Asia'. The first lines of an ancient Jain script note that religious traditions, Jain and others, value and understand the importance of the gift. The text suggests that a rejection of giving is a rejection of religion and culture. Jain gifts (dāna) are considered on four criteria, the donor, the recipient, the procedure and the substance of the gift. Hindu traditions produced volumes of writing, especially between 1000-1300 CE, on the potential and moral duty of giving. Buddhist dialogue around the act of giving, although it also points to moral obligation, compares it to art, engaging talent and knowledge and bringing meaning into the human experience.

The Tzedakah box (translated as charity but comes from a Hebrew word meaning righteousness and justice) dates back thousands of years and is described in the Old Testament as a chest in Jerusalem that collected gifts to be used for the repair of the First Temple (Payton & Moody, 2008). Charles Hinnant, in his essay *The Patriarchal Narratives of Genesis* (2002), describes the use of gifts within biblical texts to resolve

conflict and prevent violence between and within family groups. He uses the example of Isaac's brother, Jacob, offering livestock to his brother Esau in an attempt to compensate for having convinced him to relinquish his birthright. In the end, Esau tells Jacob to keep the livestock because he has plenty but Jacob insists on the gift. Hinnant points out that, interestingly, the word for gift used by Jacob, *minâh*, can also be used to describe a superior power.

Natalie Zemon Davis (2000) emphasizes the connection between cycles of giving and the Christian calendar. During the celebrations of the birth of Christ and the 12 Days of Christmas, Roman *strenae* or gifts of good omen were widely exchanged. Holidays such as Lent and Easter marking the death and resurrection of Christ also see tremendous gift flows toward clergy, religious organizations and impoverished populations. She notes an additional gifting practice that pre-dates Christianity but became entwined with Easter, the exchange of eggs as a representation of fertility.

The Political Gift

Outside of religious valuations of the gift, the politics of giving extended far into secular social organization. Historians have explained that during the Homeric period ritualized gifts were exchanged between community members and foreigners to ensure peaceful interaction. The 'xenia' or hospitality of ancient Greece was preserved through the gift as communities and societies grew increasingly complex and diverse (Zemon Davis, 2000). In 1776, Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* noted three distinct logics that underpin reciprocity and exchange. First, interdependence and exchange within a unit (rationalization of labour) leads to greater productivity. Second, humans have a

‘psychological propensity’ for bartering and exchange (between individuals). Third, that self-interest (market) is beneficial to the individual as well as the nation. Although his third point speaks more to formalized system of market he also values informal networks of exchange which tend to be embedded in cycles of gifting as well as market like conditions. Smith teased out the value and role of the gift and processes of exchange in social organization and productivity.

In the 19th century Ralph Waldo Emerson’s essay *Gifts* very simply stated “it is not in the office of a man to receive gifts. How dare you give them? We wish to be self sustained”(Ferguson & Ferguson, 1987, p.312). What he touched on is a fundamental point in the discussion of ‘giving’ and ‘receiving’, that both acts have the power to create imbalances between the parties involved in exchange. Emerson went on to say that one never really forgives a giver and that the act of having to consume a gift can be a degrading form of dependency. Just as Emerson describes the particular power dynamic that puts the recipient of a gift at a disadvantage, Andrew Carnegie identifies the advantages of being in the position of donor. Originally published in 1889, Andrew Carnegie’s *The Gospel of Wealth* provided an emotional and spiritual plea to give. He argues that a man who dies with considerable personal wealth is disgraced but the act of giving will provide prestige and admiration in his memory. Through the act of giving (in Carnegie’s case philanthropy) position and rank are secured.

The increasing commodification and tremendous power of the market has certainly not replaced the role of the gift or exchange. Themes that continue to surface in these discussions of the gift, regardless of the time or space, include power, position,

prestige, preservation and salvation. The performance and practice of these issues have such an enduring social currency that the gift remains central to how we understand and organize our social worlds. Despite the rapid re-organization and growing complexity of societies, the role of the gift remains central to one's identity. The following section will use the work of Marcel Mauss to explore and discuss critical and intersecting theories of the gift.

Mauss and Discussions of the Gift

Though attention had been paid to the practice of giving and exchange prior to the publication of *The Gift* (1990), Mauss was able to initiate wide interdisciplinary scholarship around the significance of giving. Inspired by Malinowski's work, *Argonauts of the West Pacific* (1922), on the Trobriand Islands (Kiriwina Islands, off the coast of Papua New Guinea) Mauss extended Malinowski's discussion of the gift and counter-gift sentiment to the symbolic and political realm. Weiner (1992) notes that although Malinowski's initial classification may lack sophistication it marked a critical point in the field of anthropology and inspired the work of Mauss in the following decade

Using a range of ethnographic sources, *Kula* exchange from the Trobriand Islands (inter-island exchange of intricate shell armbands and necklaces used to demonstrate authority, status and respect for neighbouring islands), the Melanesian and Native American practice of *potlatch* (competitive gift-giving for rank and status), the Polynesian concept of *mana* (spiritual well-being or integrity), Mauss was especially interested in examining the power of a gift to provoke reciprocation. He put forward that the structure of giving depended on three critical acts, giving, receiving and finally

reciprocating. This process creates a mutual dependency between the 'giver' and the 'recipient' in any exchange. Mauss rejected the idea of the 'free' gift as it fails to create the social and cultural bonds necessary for solidarity. He also pointed out that the power of the gift to coordinate reciprocation exists beyond its material significance. Mauss said that the gift contains a direct link to the giver, he describes this connection as being both spiritual and magical. Borrowing the term *hau* from the Maori culture, Mauss isolates the 'spirit of the gift' as an extension of the giver that he feels demands reciprocation, return to giver.

To not reciprocate demonstrates both an insult to the donor's honour and a loss of one's integrity or 'mana'. Mauss (1990) sees gifts and exchange as coordinating total systems of giving, a social economy. Writing in a post -WW1 context Mauss saw the potential for inequitable distribution to lead to violence and destruction. The gift, therefore, represented a space of hope and possibility in an increasingly fragmented world economy. Within the field of giving, however, two dominant critiques around the work of Mauss include: 1) a discussion around the very possibility of the gift, and 2) the role of *hau* (spirit of the gift) in initiating reciprocation of the gift. Additional points of discussion around Mauss include initiation of the gift, gifts as stabilizing forces and gender.

The Possibility and Impossibility of the 'Gift'

Alan Schrift (1997) places key value in Mauss's argument that although the gift appears at first to be 'free' and 'disinterested' it is very much embedded in relations of reciprocation. He argues this to demonstrate the emergence of 'market' far before

formalized currency. Schrift also attributes the rise in recent scholarship devoted to the gift due, in part, to the translation of Derrida's *Given Time: Counterfeit Money* (1992). This text fundamentally questions the possibility of 'the gift' and its translation into English enabled a broader dialogue around theories of giving. Derrida is critical of Mauss' theory of the gift. He first suggests that Mauss speaks of everything but the gift, as any form of symbolic or material reciprocation nullifies or cancels out the act of giving and creates a straight exchange. Derrida opines that a true and pure gift requires several conditions: a lack of reciprocity; the recipient must not see the gift as such; the donor must not see the act as giving; and the item or service must not be presented as gift. Therefore, he concludes that the gift is an impossibility, as these criteria are most difficult to meet. Otherwise, the gift has the potential to become an opportunity for a giver to be motivated by self-interest, even if that return is simply the self-righteousness of having done a good deed.

Derrida also uses Baudelaire's tale, 'Counterfeit Money' in his work *Given Time* (1992), to discuss issues of identity, reputation and fraudulent giving. In this piece two friends are out walking when one gives a person begging for money a considerable sum. The other friend is embarrassed to not be able to give as generously. He voices this and his friend tells him that it had been a counterfeit coin. Derrida selects this tale because it emphasizes the importance of 'donor' construction in individual acts of giving. The priority is to *appear* to be 'good', 'generous', and 'charitable' over an interest in *being* 'good', 'generous' and 'charitable'. Additionally, the event of 'giving' and the pleasure one feels from having surprised a recipient with a gift are all very powerful. One is left

wondering, why the act of 'giving' seems to have more cultural power than the act of actually helping or assisting another person. Perhaps it is the performativity, the public nature of exchange, the audience, or the moment of exchange. Maybe, deep down, individuals question whether the gift truly meets needs but would rather play into the myth of the 'gift'. The companion of the 'donor' made sense of it by deciding that his friend simply wanted to "do a good deed while at the same time making a good deal" (p.32). Derrida, however, acknowledges that the making of a 'good deal' is what makes the gift impossible. When motivated by selfish interests the exchange of 'gift' simply becomes an opportunity for personal gain.

Schrift (1997) writes that the coin, like the gift, only retains power and currency as long as it goes unrecognized, "if the gift is annulled in the economic odyssey of the circle as soon as it appears as gift or as soon as it signifies itself as gift, there is no longer any 'logic of the gift'" (p.131). Fennell (2002) cautions Derrida not be too quick to compare the process of gifting (in some cases) to straight exchange or market-like conditions. For, if all gifting were out of self-interest the conversion of cash into illiquid forms (the gift) is rather irrational as it manipulates and distorts the value of the object. In many ways, even though the gift is an impossibility for Derrida, he does not recommend that people stop giving. He does advocate for reflexivity and awareness of wider cycles of exchange in the act of 'giving'. Mary Douglas, in her preface to *The Gift* (1990) says that if we continue to frame gifts as being free with no strings attached, we will continue to fail in identifying our own grand cycles of exchange. This appears to capture the concerns at the heart of Derrida's demand for greater awareness and understanding of the politics of the gift.

The possibility and impossibility of gift have both become foundational themes within the discourse of giving. Richard Titmus (1972) for example, has suggested that giving in the form of blood donorship is able to meet specific gift criteria such as Derrida's because the recipient and donor are unknown to one another. However, it seems that blood donation is continually framed as gift- the 'gift of life'. Donors are well able to experience a range of pleasure to pride to self-righteousness for having given blood, nullifying Derrida's basic criteria. James Laidlaw (2002) proposes that in the Jain tradition the rejection of and play on spontaneous gift giving comes very close to Derrida's (1992) criteria. Much work happens to reduce the gifts of food to 'nothing', language is a key tool in erasing the gift and recipients are not able to express gratitude, therefore the cycle of give, receive and reciprocate put forward by Mauss (1990) is ruptured providing a space that Derrida might feel lends itself better to his construction of gift, although Laidlaw acknowledges it is not perfect.

Godbout and Caille (1992) have also written about the paradox of the gift proposing that if giving is one-sided or unequal it is exploitative but if the gift and counter-gift are equitable it becomes interested exchange. They find this conflict to be striking, particularly because gifting remains a critical practice within cultures around the world. To reduce the gift to either altruism or interest is ineffective in their minds as it fails to consider the full complexity of the gift and the relationships enacted by exchange. Therefore, the practice and performance of the gift appears to exist as a continual tension or pull of altruism and interest, possibility and impossibility. Each and every exchange

has the potential to be a play on and a dance around these competing narratives, creating ambiguity and fluidity around the gift's existence.

Mauss and the Spirit of the Gift

Pre-dating the publication of Mauss's *The Gift*, Emerson commented on the mysterious connections between the gift and its giver. He noted that the gift is a piece of oneself and that "a man's biography is conveyed in his gift" (Ferguson & Ferguson, 1987, p. 312). Similarly, when contemplating reciprocation, Mauss asked, "what power resides in the object given that causes its recipient to pay it back?" (1990, p. 3). He determined gifts to be accompanied by an energy described by the Maori term *hau* (spirit of the gift). Mauss argued that this spirit wants to be returned to its origins through the reciprocation of goods. Failure to engage in this cycle results in the loss of one's *mana* (integrity) and this logic perpetuates ongoing cycles of reciprocation. The following sections will explore Mauss's discussion of the 'spirit of the gift' to begin to create a foundation for discussions around the communicative capacity of the gift.

Gregory (1982) is very much aligned with Mauss's (1990) connection between the gift and the giver. He does not necessarily discuss *hau* and spiritual ties between gifts and individuals. He does, however, use the term inalienability as the foundation of his argument for the distinction between gifts and commodities. A gift is understood as an inalienable transaction between people who enter into a relationship of 'reciprocal dependency' and a commodity exchange is one that creates relationships between alienable objects. Gregory hinges the very existence of the gift to Mauss's construction

of inalienability, supporting the idea of a ongoing relationship between the gift and the individuals participating in the exchange.

In *Inalienable Possessions* (1992), Annette Weiner also agreed, in many ways, with Mauss's position around inalienability and spiritual links between people and goods. She describes an 'aura', similar to Mauss's borrowing of the term *hau*, that follows general gift exchange and guides reciprocity. Commodities and everyday goods, as she sees it, are easy to give and are exchanged frequently but other things painted with the history, culture and identity of the owners are not easily given outside a closed family or cultural context. Weiner describes objects and knowledge considered sacred as representing gods or humans, often marking a spiritual or symbolic connection to the origins of all things. Her thesis, that it is possible to keep something while at the same time giving it away (the inalienability of the gift), is interesting in two respects. First, it suggests that there are items that must not be given, exchanged or sold and that by entering into relations of exchange with more general goods these sacred items are protected and preserved. Weiner describes the sacred items value as being that they "affirm deep seated identities and their continuity over time. Furthermore they affirm the existence of difference and identity" (p.33) between people and groups.

The second point that should be noted from Weiner (1992) is that the identity of those who have the authority and status necessary to possess such items will forever be imprinted within the spirit of the object resulting in a strong degree of inalienability when sacred goods are transferred to another. Due to the inalienability and powerful ties between the sacred and those possessing the sacred, one retains a degree of 'ownership'

or spiritual possession of these goods, enabling the donor to 'keep while giving'. What is also very interesting about Weiner's structuring of gifting and exchange is that she argues the items left out of circulation (ceremonial cloaks, family heirlooms, war medals) are most instructive in learning about communities and culture. This is contrasted with anthropology's general practice of looking at the items that are in circulation and exchange for meaning and illumination. Godelier (1999) uses Weiner and Mauss (1990) in his own formulation of a theory around 'the sacred' cultural artifacts, withheld from exchange and proposes that those withheld from circulation are the most symbolic of all goods. This certainly plays nicely into Weiner's position that concealed and protected items are of the utmost value in term of cultural relevance.

Critiques of the 'Spirit of the Gift'

Although some gift theorists felt Mauss's (1990) discussion of *hau* and the spiritual connections between giving and reciprocation to be helpful, this explanation for the flow of goods and services has also been heavily criticized. In 1926 Malinowski produced *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (2002) in which he argued that it is custom and tradition rather than a spiritual or magical pressure that initiates reciprocity. This text launched an ongoing tension between Mauss and Malinowski around the meaning of gifting in 'archaic' societies.

In *Stone Age Economics* (1972), Sahlins revealed a critique of Mauss (1990). He first used Levi-Strauss and Firth to problematize the concept of *hau* (spirit of the gift that coordinates reciprocation). Levi-Strauss, according to Sahlins, questioned Mauss's over-reliance on the concept of *hau*. He describes it as simply being one cultural group's means

of explaining or rationalizing a phenomenon. The more common critique that Levi-Strauss directed to Mauss is that he stopped short in his analysis. Mauss continued to consider the three acts as fragmented rather than an integrated structuralist system of relations. Firth, Sahlins notes, also critiques Mauss's use and basic understanding of the Maori concept of *hau*. He feels that Mauss both overplayed the power of the *hau* to demand reciprocation and failed to differentiate between the spirit of the gift and the spirit of the giver. Firth prefers to consider the fallout and social implications of failure to reciprocate as critical in initiating reciprocation compared to Maussian notions of mystical and spiritual origins.

Yan (1996) too questions Mauss's (1990) work with the concept of *hau*, especially issues around the cultural practices of asymmetrical giving and the alienability of gifts. He explores the practice of gifting in rural northern China using his own work, as well as Parry (1986), to highlight cultural differences in the exchange of objects. Compare the Maori concept of *hau*, which threatens spiritual imbalance when a gift is not reciprocated to the Hindu gift *dan* and Indian gift of *dāna* both of which reject notions of reciprocation due to a threat of transferring negative spiritual energy. Copeman (2011) points out that although the asymmetry of the 'Indian gift' has been studied extensively since the 1980s, gifts exchanged in India exist as multiple symmetrical and asymmetrical models. Looking at the asymmetrical exchanges against Mauss's theory of *hau* positions these practices in direct opposition.

A variety of asymmetrical gift exchanges, in India for example, are not threatened by the negative spiritual pressure of unreciprocated *hau*. What they do share, according

to Yan, is a tie between the exchange of a gift and a transfer of spirit. Yan writes that although all cultures exchange and engage with the gift, the form and practice of giving is a cultural construction. Further critiquing Mauss, Yan introduces the Chinese hierarchical and unreciprocated gift given to superiors. This gift does not impact the recipient's social status and conflicts with two additional and generally accepted Maussian principles of giving. One that gifts create obligations to reciprocate and two, that a lack of reciprocation creates a power imbalance in favour of a donor. Yan's discussion of 'renqing ethics' (cultural norms of interpersonal behaviour) in China identifies not only further cultural differences in practices of giving but also contextual differences, depending on the social circumstances within a particular culture. These are very serious points of consideration in the theory of the gift. Mauss fails to account for distinct cultural difference in his model of giving.

Finally, Yan (1996) also problematizes Mauss's (1990) and Weiner's (1992) construction of the inalienability of the gift. Gregory (1982) could easily have also been included in this critique. Yan's portrayal of gifting in rural China demonstrates the alienability of gifts of money and general consumer goods such as canned food. If someone runs out of gifts during a ceremonial exchange, money easily stands in for the gift. Lacking the sentimental and spiritual connection of the gifts, items within this context pushed Yan to suggest that rather than discussing the spirit of the gift it would be more useful to consider the spirit conveyed by the gift, the 'spirit of the gift transactors'. In this model the gifts simply represent the spirit of the donors rather than existing

independently within gift. Yan's position situates the gift as more of a communicative event than Mauss (1990) proposes.

Contributing to the discussion of the spirit of the gift, Gudeman (2001) offers that anthropologists' resistance to domination by market theory has caused them to aggressively put forward theories of reciprocity. He feels that an emphasis on reciprocity locks the field into a limited and unhealthy dialect that constructs a relational and altruistic model against an interested and atomistic framework. This is where Gudeman reflects on Mauss (1990). He argues that Mauss's borrowing of the Maori term *hau*, used to represent the spirit of the *gift*, should actually be understood as the spirit of the *community*. In his writing he rejects mystical and magical leanings and refers to reciprocity as a secondary phenomenon, an expression of community rather than the very core of society.

What is most interesting in Gudeman (2001) is this discussion of community. He feels that theories of reciprocity have failed to fully consider the role of gift in extending the community base or shared commons. He claims Mauss's significance is in his tying of objects and relationships as this is what produces community and reproduces the base. Through the creation of dyadic relationships of gift, people are incorporated into multiple and overlapping constructions of community. Therefore, Gudeman sees reciprocity as being central to distributing base of the community (anything that contributes to a group's material and social sustenance) to others. Moving from Mauss (1990) to Gregory (1982), Weiner (1992) and Godelier (1999) and on to Yan (1996) and Gudeman (2001) there is a

clear shift to expanded conceptualizations of communicative capacity in relation to the gift.

Initiation of the Gift and Motivation to Give

Reciprocal exchange and the flow of the gift have been richly discussed in theories of giving. Absent, however, are discussions of the initial gift. Critiques of Mauss (1990) argue that he never fully explains why gifts are given in the first place. Gasché (1997) and Sahlins (1972) claim that although Mauss fully discusses why gifts are reciprocated through his borrowing of the Maori term *hau*, the reader is never really provided with a firm sense of why the initial gift is given. Sykes (2005) responds that because the gift, according to Mauss's declaration of it being a 'total social fact', "embraces the whole of social life" (p. 64) its motivations are never singular or purely economic (for example) but have diverse appeal throughout the social realm.

Sykes (2005) also briefly relates Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' to the practice of the gift (she notes that this term originated from the work of Mauss). She describes it as operating similar to the more generally understood term 'habit', actions so engrained in one's world that they become conscious and unconscious practices. Habitus is formally defined as "a mnemonic device for encoding generations of historical experience within a single person's body and acts, or within the shared acts of a number of people" (p. 113). Bourdieu argues that some behaviours become structures so embedded in cultural practice that it becomes difficult to recognize or understand them in isolated frames.

Although Sykes (2005) does not explicitly connect the ambiguity around the initiation of the gift to Bourdieu's discussion of habitus, it does make sense that given

Mauss's positioning of gift as a total social fact that the pervasiveness of the gift along with its place at the cornerstone of social relationships creates a dynamic that fails to recognize or critically question why the initial gift is put forward. Bourdieu (1997) refers to the inaugural gift as an attempt, conscious or not, to build symbolic capital. For those educated into the culture of giving, the gift is not a free and generous choice but the only choice. Therefore, the initial gift is often not articulated as such because it is not necessarily identified as such- the first gift so embedded in a wider culture of giving that it is not easily isolated and always in a vague state of ambiguity. Gudeman (2001) positions the initial gift as 'trial and error'. Unlike Bourdieu, he seems to position the first gift as identifiable and describes it as an attempt to test, communicate and extend relationships and community.

Contemporary studies of giving continue to link notions of giving with social solidarity. Komter (2005) explores the psychological functions of giving: to create moral ties between giver and receiver; disclosure, affirmation or denial of identities because the gift reveals one's understandings of the recipient and reflects one's personal taste; and, finally, recognition or respect for other. He describes motivations to give as including (although sometimes subconscious and overlapping): the positive feeling that develops from giving to one who is in need; insecurity- to stabilize or solidify a relationship; power and prestige, reciprocity, self interest (flattery or bribe); finally, out of dislike for a person (jack in the box/practical joke).

Beatty, Yoon, Grunert and Helgeson (1996) agree that motivations behind giving are diverse ranging from absolute self-interest to altruism. They describe gift givers as

classified into two main groups- 'self-respect givers' those who give to feel better about themselves and 'relationship givers' those who give to maintain or enhance social relations. Cheal (1996) writes that individuals engage in gifting for four reasons. First, material support helps others stabilize their performance within a group or community, for example gifts to a young married couple. Second, people exchange due to normative obligations and culturally expected gifts. Third, the process of giving is used to communicate both how one feels about other and as a reflection of one's own identity. Finally, giving is used to communicate inner states, values and opinions. In any gifting context it is most likely that motivations are multiple, conscious and unconscious.

Gifts as Stabilizing Forces

Mauss (1990) suggests that an unwillingness to give, receive or reciprocate is comparable to declaring war due to the tremendous tension and unrest withdrawal from exchange creates. Sahlins (1972) appreciates that Mauss was able to import issues of trade and conflict into the heart of social life. Sahlins feels that exchange and potential for war and conflict are often discussed as being on the fringes of social life. However, by positioning acts of giving at the center of social reproduction and daily exchange (within and beyond group or community) the 'gift' becomes the original social contract. Sahlins compares this to Hobbes' discussion of the state and notes that in some ways the gift is able to stand in for or act as a predecessor to the state. He is quick to point out that Hobbes and Mauss may not completely agree on the social role of the gift but there is alignment in their consideration of the functional role of reciprocity in avoiding conflict and strife. Although Sahlins highlights the critical role of reciprocity he emphasizes that

little attention, in the work of Mauss for example, had been paid to degrees of equivalence.

Finding the focus or assumption of balance in reciprocity problematic, Sahlins (1972) sets up a spectrum ranging from generalized reciprocity on one end to negative reciprocity on the other end in his discussion of 'primitive exchange'. First, 'generalized reciprocity' tends to be offered to those in need, be they family, friends or other. Expectations of return are vague and the giver is not usually upset if the gift is not reciprocated. In the middle is 'balanced reciprocity' and in some ways it functions more like market exchange. Items flow evenly, back in forth with definite temporal boundaries and degrees of equivalence between goods or services exchanged. Finally 'negative reciprocity' is, in a sense, exploitative. Motivated purely by self-interest this mode of exchange is an attempt to create a one-way flow of resources.

George Bataille's *The Accursed Share* (1988) also considers issues of balance in the flow of goods. He situates the gift as a cultural aid in capitalist societies used to annihilate excessive production and stabilize relationships. Pointing to Mauss's notion of potlatch, he remarks on the potential for accumulated wealth and resources to be either spent lavishly (destroyed) or to become threatening within a particular system or relationship. War is often used as an example of the effects of excessive accumulation on an international level. So, widespread cycles of gift, as well as Mauss's (1990) example of potlatch, are critical in redistributing wealth and sustaining balance. Additionally, the often observed and public nature of exchange provide opportunities and space for others to consider and re-consider issues of wealth, status, prestige and power.

Although the function of the gift can be tied to restoring and maintaining balance the gift can just as easily disrupt power relations and reproduce exploitative social organization. Both Mauss (1990) and Derrida (1992) have explicitly written about the power of 'giving' and the construction of rigid 'donor' and 'recipient' subjectivities. Mauss argued that the unreciprocated gift, especially, can potentially create feelings of inferiority within recipients and superiority in donors. In these cases the gift becomes an opportunity for the display of wealth, status and prestige through giving. The recipient, on the other hand, is painted as lacking and dependent. Unable to perpetuate and facilitate the cycle of the gift, Mauss argues that recipients experience a loss of *mana*, integrity and pride.

Derrida (1992) echoed similar sentiments when he outlined the impossibility of the 'gift' and the potential for such exchanges to create both opportunities for personal gain and harm toward others. Coordinating feelings of indebtedness, the 'free gift' has more recently been considered instrumental in the reproduction of exploitative power relations (Escobar, 1995, 1999; Kapoor, 2007; Visser 2008, Moyo, 2009). The power of the gift to create stability and instability is complex. Godelier (1999) sets up this point nicely by stating, "gift decreases the distance between the protagonists because it is a form of sharing and it increases the social distance between because one is now indebted to the other" (p.12). The ability of the gift to provide or disrupt societal and relational stability is significant, making the manipulation of gift a very powerful means of control.

Gender and the Sacred

The role of gender within the field of the gift is a rich area of study. Historically, academic and anthropological discussion of women, within the world of the gift, has been severely limited (Weiner, 1992). The day-to-day experience of providing goods and service (internally and externally) for sustenance and survival was often overlooked in favour of grand gestures of trade and symbolic exchange. The invisibility of women's work related to the gift in early anthropological texts creates a silence around the full meaning of gender in the realm of giving. Early considerations of women in the cycle of the gift, such as Levi-Strauss, positioned women as the original exchange. In *Elementary Structures of Kinship* (1969) women are described as the most basic and precious forms of gift and exchange. Characterized as a symbolic exchange between families, the gift of a woman was considered the 'gift of a giver' because of women's socially constructed role as nurturer.

Schrift (1997) draws interesting lines between theories of the gift and Gilligan's (1982) discussion of gender. He links an 'ethics of care' (relational understanding of exchanges based on women as primarily concerned with issues of care toward others) to gift economy and an 'ethics of rights' (abstract individualized understandings of response which is more typically connected to men) with the logic of commodity exchange. Essentially, this comparison aligns traditional understandings of 'femininity' with a social/moral economy and 'masculinity' with a more financial/political economy with the acknowledgement of considerable overlap between all of these categories. Cheal (1988) also addressed this division and reminds that although everyone experiences aspects of both political and moral economy, they are not typically shared equally.

Weiner (1992) focuses on the invisibility of gender in her discussions of inalienable gifts. She is very interesting in that she intentionally seeks to disrupt theories of power that identify clean lines between disempowered domestic work and the power derived from public participation. Weiner feels that this inaccurately represents fields of power, especially ones that exist in relation to giving. Women's work in the production of cloth, for example, provides a source of status and power but it also facilitates reciprocal exchange that protects more sacred goods from entering arenas of exchange and redistribution. Therefore, the work of women enables cultural groups to 'keep while they give' and sustains guardianship over sacred items. That women often care for and possess cultural artifacts is critical to Weiner because it means that they exercise significant societal authority through the transmission of information and legitimization of power.

Similarly, Godelier (1999) argues that sacred gifts provide no official political power (and the traditional power structures can not be ignored) but, again, the prestige and cultural power possession that the sacred provides must not be overlooked. This acknowledges the role of women in the reproduction of culture and stabilization of trade creating an alternative narrative around power that certainly disrupts the conventional notion of the power in traditional societies.

Moving Forward with Mauss

Together, these diverse critiques of Mauss represent new directions of study in theories of the gift. Opening up issues of gender and culture, in particular, has been vital to the expansion and extension of Mauss into the next century. Although there has been great transformation in understandings around the role gender and culture, much of

Mauss remains relevant as it existed almost one hundred years ago. There continues to be much ambiguity around the possibility and impossibility of the gift, the ability of the gift to coordinate reciprocation, the motivations that underpin giving and the power of the gift to both rupture and repair relationships. The enduring nature of Mauss's dialogue around the gift speaks not only to the sharp insight and understanding of gift processes Mauss engendered through his work. Mauss is, perhaps, most significant due to the tremendous authority and influence he assigned the gift. He shifted the gift from the periphery to the center of discussion on social organization and reproduction. Alhassan (2007) writes that it is often the margins or the periphery that are holding the center together. The beauty of Mauss is that he continues to be used as a foundation in gift theory because he placed the gift as the foundation of social theory. Godbout and Caille (1998) speak to this in the following, "The gift? It is perhaps what is there when all has been forgotten and before anything has been learned" (p.15).

The Gift in Relation to the Commodity

Bourdieu explains, "the particular difficulty we have in thinking about gifts is due to the fact that as the gift economy has tended to shrink to an island in the ocean of the equivalent-exchange economy its meaning has changed" (1997 p. 235). This may be true, gift giving and gift exchange are not as vital to basic survival as they once were, though many are still very dependent on the gift. Cheal (1988) reminds readers that although there is a distinct shift in the specific role of the gift in capitalist societies it remains especially critical in maintaining important social ties and sustaining relationships. Otnes and Beltramini (1996) explicitly credit the emergence of consumer studies over the last

couple of decades for the renewed interest in gift culture. Unlike previous anthropological interest in the relational and symbolic dimension of the gift, consumer studies emphasize the objects exchanged.

Cheal (1988) has written that contemporary challenges within the study of the gift come from historical traditions emphasizing political economy over study of the gift in capitalist contexts and anthropological interests in elementarism and exchange that failed to account for the complexity of the gift in current times. Additionally, the gift was, in many ways, perceived to be aligned with an ethics of care and studies of gender that have historically been overlooked by the academy.

Komter (2005) agrees that the lack of attention paid to the gift is due, at least in part, to the prominence of economic scholarship and Marxist attention to relations of economic production, in particular. Additional suggestions around the influences that contribute to the overshadowing of the gift include Barthes' (1973) mythologizing of the commodity as preserving existing ideologies, Baudrillard's (1988) use of the commodity as a sign within a larger system of meaning and Bourdieu's (1984) description of commodities used to reproduce social meaning and communicate position. The above have all contributed to a failure to account for the complexity and ambiguity of the gift but nothing has been more limiting than the rigid binary constructed between notions of 'gift' and 'commodity'.

The Gift-Commodity Binary

In *The Gift*, Mauss (1990) expresses relief that not everything, in cycles of exchange, can be categorized as buying and selling. One must remember that Mauss's

work on the gift was produced in 1925. The division between gift and commodity becomes more relevant as gifting in late capitalism becomes evermore embedded in, or the product of, commercial exchange. Derrida (1992) too felt that any examination of what is commonly considered 'gift' must also include a study of how it relates to financial economies and exchange. The 'gift', he noted, should interrupt rather than facilitate systems of economic exchange. The increasingly blurred nature of gift and commodity status requires a broad re-conceptualization of the gift-commodity relationship.

At first glance the lines between gift and commodity seem obvious. Kopytoff (1986) describes the constitution of the commodity, at a very basic level, as relying on 'saleability'. An object has a use value that can be that can be transacted for a 'counterpart' of equivalent value. The gift, on the other hand, lacks the public transactional counterpart that fulfills the commodity. Kopytoff further differentiates between the commodity and the gift based on terminality. The gift, he feels, sets in motion a chain of relations and obligations. Kopytoff sees the commodity transaction as discrete and contained upon exchange.

Similarly, Gregory (1982) argues that commodity exchange established objective quantifiable relationships between objects transacted while gift exchange establishes personal qualitative relationships between subjects transacting. He states, "commodities are alienable objects transacted by aliens; gifts are inalienable objects transacted by non-alien" (p. 43). The gift, for example, is moved between people who enter into a relationship of 'reciprocal dependency' and becomes inalienable as it is bound to the

relationships within which it was exchanged. The models offered by Gregory (1986) and Kopytoff (1986) are just a few examples of very neat and defined conceptualizations of the gift-commodity dichotomy. As exchange and gifting become increasingly embedded in commercialized environments and consumer culture the definitions begin to collapse, or at the very least blur.

Bourdieu reproduces a similar logic (as found in Schrift, 1996). He makes the distinction between a gift economy that denies economic and profit-based logic for disinterestedness and an economy of equal exchange, which supports a calculated relationship. The binary constructed between gift and commodity is problematic. This model contributes to misunderstandings between gift and commodity because they are only ever considered in their 'purest' forms.

Accompanying this model is an interesting hierarchy. Though the gift is often overshadowed by economic interest in commodity exchange the gift is considered the 'elevated' good. Osteen (2002) notes a lack of neutrality in both Marxist and Maussian discussions of exchange. He positions the commodity as being a 'fallen from grace' object whereas the gift appears to exist within an idealized state. Therefore, understandings of the commodity and the gift remain locked in a binary as one is conceptualized against the other. Osteen challenges and faults assumptions of the commodity as impure by providing an example of aboriginal art being sold to benefit and improve living conditions within the community. Most of all, it appears that Osteen wants to break down and question the rigidity of gift-commodity binaries. Sahlins (1972) has also written about the messiness of the gift-commodity relationship, though this has often

been ignored in writing on the gift. He suggests that the material and social dimensions of giving are not easily untangled; the lines between the 'gift' and the 'commodity' can easily become blurred and are often murky at best

Osteen (2002) wants to see these traditional binaries upset in order to create new spaces of understanding in gift theory. Until this happens the misunderstanding and mythologizing around the function of the gift and gifting will continue to plague conceptualizations of exchange and interest. This re-consideration of giving within late-capitalism and consumer culture necessitates further conversation around the relationships between gift and commodity. In fact, Osteen contends that this is and will continue to be one of the most significant challenges in the field of gift theory.

The Transformative and Fluid Nature of the Gift

Moving beyond traditional fixed binaries of gift and commodity provides a critical place for re-considering the meaning of exchange. Examining the shifting transformative, communicative and interpretative elements of giving opens up new spaces for theorizing the gift in late capitalism. Not only is it useful to think beyond the rigid differentiation of gift and commodity but it also helps to fully explore how and why this distinction is becoming an antiquated way of understanding the gift.

The Fluidity of the Gift-Commodity

Just as the form a gift can take is dependent on time and context so is its gift-commodity status. Focusing on the overlapping and shifting functions of exchange, Zemon Davis (2000) constructs three exchange modes, gifting, selling and coercion (theft) and argues that these modes have the potential to work both in 'competition and

concert', making the relationships ambiguous. Komter (2005) agrees with Zemon Davis saying that although the scientific thought of the day in the 1970s and 1980s pitted the gift and the commodity in direct opposition, Komter feels this limits understanding. Time and circumstance can transform a gift into a commodity (symbolic value stripped, family heirloom is sold) or de-commodify a good (market value is replaced with sentimental value, overtime an object becomes a family heirloom). Just as the gift has the potential to move in and out of 'gift' status, so does the commodity (Appadurai, 1986; Kopytoff, 1986). Fennell (2002) even makes the point that commodity status is somewhat erased with the removal of price tags and the wrapping of an object. She feels that these actions contribute to the transformation of commodity to gift.

Almost any resource can be transformed into a gift, authors argue that this transformation occurs through 1) a social relationship and 2) occasion to give (Fischer et al., 1996). This is also illustrated in Yan (1996) who notes gifts of money and canned goods to demonstrate the interchangeability of the commodity and the gift. Here he raises two interesting questions. First, if commodities are easily transformed into gifts, is the reverse possible? Second, does the conversion of gift to commodity or commodity to gift impact the relationships originally engaged in the exchange? Finally, Yan notes the lack of sentiment in traditional descriptions of gift exchange and suggests that it is possible that the element of emotion and sentiment in giving is exaggerated in European and North American culture. This leads one to question: does this exaggeration exist to conceal the very real politics of giving?

Komter (2005) explains that some of the conflict or tension we feel with the exchange model of the gift is due to our emphasis on the emotional, social, personal, altruistic and communicative dimension of giving. Although the exchange of gift often complies with rules of reciprocity, subjectively it is interpreted as existing outside of economic relationships. He further adds that the meaning of the gift is dependent on the specific spirit within which gifts are given and the social relationship through which the gifts are moved. Komter (2005) hits on an interesting point that is rarely discussed within the theory of the gift, the act of interpretation. Similarly, Helmuth Berking (1999) broke gift practices into four separate stages the gift object: 1) the sequence of giving, 2) the sequence of taking, 3) the actors own understanding of their acts and motives, and 4) the rules or practices governing behaviour. This model extends Mauss's (1990) structure of giving, receiving, reciprocating to include both interpretative and contextual dimensions. Therefore, because the act of giving is so dependent on both the interpretive and contextual, arriving at a fully theorized construct of what is 'gift' and what is 'commodity' is no longer possible, as individuals own understandings of gift and commodity in a particular circumstance take priority.

The Fluidity of the Gift

Bourdieu's *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977) describes the gift as 'constructed in time'. Gift creates a space for time and uncertainty through the lag between giving and receiving. The time lapse is what transforms the gift into an interested exchange and this is the dual nature of the gift. The interval between 'gift' and reciprocation is what makes it possible to experience the gift as disinterested, which is a self deception, the ability to

“recognize and misrecognize the logic of exchange...(the) self deception is only possible because it is supported by collective self-deception” (p.232). In the absence of a ‘collective self -deception’ the gift has the potential to be recognized as a straight exchange. Additionally, he states that the gift is not always understood as such in the moment and cannot be fully recognized until the entire sequence is complete, promoting an enduring uncertainty around the gift.

Natalie Zemon Davis (2000) engages in a historical and cultural ethnography of the gift in 16th century France. She states that although there are changes in the relationship between gifts and exchange overtime, there are no linear universal transitions or evolutionary patterns. She describes gift mode as expanding and shrinking in particular eras but remaining important. Some examples of the contextual issues affecting cycles of giving and exchange are raised by Yan (1996) who looked at the changes in the patterns of gift based on social and cultural change in rural China. Cheal (1996) on the other hand looks at patterns around Christmas gifts throughout the last century. He traces the practice and make up of the gifts to the economic and cultural conditions of their time. Together, these examples demonstrate the fluidity of the gift to respond to contextual and cultural issues. The resilience of the gift in the face of social transformation speaks to its cultural and institutional power in coordinating the lives of people around the world.

Gift as Communication

Though Veblen (1998) described the communicative value of commodities as being limited to displays wealth, status and prestige, Cheal (1988) noted that if this were true for gifts, they would all tend to be expensive approaching vulgar (when possible).

However, the fact that gifts are often embedded in more sentimental origins and 'dialogues of empathy' demonstrates a much broader communicative capacity for both gifts and objects. Russell Belk (1996) also touches on the communicative capacity of the gift. Questioning Veblen's introduction of conspicuous consumption he argues that although the luxurious gift may communicate consumer status and wealth, gifts also have the ability to communicate tremendous sentiment. Vaughan (1997) argues that Mauss's emphasis on reciprocity blurs the different meanings embedded in and communicated by relations of giving and exchange. By revealing and highlighting the role of communication, one is able to shift the dialogue from 'what is a gift' to 'what is the function of the gift'. Therefore the communicative role of the gift has expanded beyond traditional understandings of the communicative capacity of commodities.

Focusing on issues of communication and transformation, Fennell (2002) offers a new way of understanding the characteristics that set apart the gift and the commodity. She identifies 'empathetic dialogue' and 'illiquidity' as being critical in opening up the discussion of giving. The concept of illiquidity in late capitalism refers to the conversion of cash into an object that is illiquid (the gift). Many gifts begin their lives as commodities. However, through the process of empathetic dialogue the commodity is transformed into gift. It requires that the giver reflect on the interests, needs and wishes of the potential recipient. The building of sentiment comes from identifying with another, the appreciation of knowing the other's true desires are understood and recognized by the recipient and the ability to surprise and be surprised by another. Fennell concludes that

the gift reproduces and sustains empathetic dialogue contributing to an 'imaginative participation' in the life of the other.

Although Fennell (2002) doesn't reference Yan (1996) this is somewhat similar to the idea of the spirit conveyed by the gift. In both cases the gift represents a dialogue, although Fennell discusses the idea of gift as signal much more explicitly. She observes the dynamics of gifting as being similar to game theory in terms of signaling and screening practices. 'Gift as signal' requires reflection in selection, presentation and reception. Using the gift to screen relationships requires observing levels of equivalence and flow between parties. Fennell indicates that this might sound very superficial and self interested at first but it is actually through processes of exchange and gift that many people make sense of and try to understand their relationships. The gift is situated as a communicative act and the information exchanged instructs and informs social organization and structures.

Conclusions

This chapter briefly followed the gift through time and space to demonstrate its enduring cultural value in discussions of power and identity. The underlying ideas of Mauss (1990) have clearly stood the test of time, serving as a basis for many recent explorations into the value and function of the gift. While theorists continue to invoke Maussian conceptualizations of giving they also point to some very profound limitations, particularly around the gift-commodity relationship, the communicative capacity of the gift as well as the role of gender in processes of giving.

Just as Bourdieu (1977) argued that the gift is constructed in time, so are theories of the gift. Over time, models of the gift expanded to become more inclusive. Mauss's strict binary approach to gift-commodity status was opened up to identify the spaces and places between absolute constructions of exchange. Significance was placed on a realization of the liquidity and fluidity of the gift-commodity relationship (Komter, 2005; Fennell, 2002; Berking, 1999; Sahlins, 1972). As Appadurai (1986) or Kopytoff (1986) would likely point out, commodity (and therefore gift) might just be one phase in any object's lifespan. The ability of that object to move between phases is very much dependent on circumstance, the passage of time, social relationships and individual understandings of exchange.

As many societies become more commercialized than in the time of Mauss, it becomes critical to fully consider the (overlapping) relationships between gifts and commodities. The ability of the gift to flow in and out of commodity status reflects its resiliency. Yan (1996) was especially useful in framing the ability of the gift to adapt and re-adapt to changing social and political contexts. When gifts disappear, commodities easily moved into their place and were accepted. This suggests the functional and symbolic value of the exchange trumps the value of the actual gift itself.

This is not to say that the gift is not important. It does, however, highlight the importance of the broader relationships around the gift, which is interesting considering the degrees to which the 'gift' can be fetishized (Marx, 1990), especially in North American culture. Going back to Fennell's (2002) point, she says that wrapping and removing price tags is comparable to 'de-commodifying' and Komter (2005) who says

that the emotional and celebratory side of the gift is exaggerated in order to conceal the politics of giving, there appears to be a strategic erasure within the field of giving. In later chapters, the specific strategies used to erase commodity status and celebrate gift will be further explored.

The communicative capacity of the gift is also a space that has been extended, in terms of Mauss's discussion of the gift. On some level, the communicative dimension of the gift (expressing both solidarity and/or domination) has been explored in a very general way (Mauss, 1990; Derrida, 1992; Sahlins, 1972; Godelier, 1999) yet these discussions fail to fully consider the act of interpretation that naturally accompanies all acts of communication. By emphasizing the interpretative space in the act of giving, theories can more fully account for multiple, competing and conflicting understandings of the gift. As noted previously, Komter (2005) also spoke to the communication, rhetoric and sentimentalism around the gift as the gift as being used to bury the economic and strategic interests of giving. Therefore, what becomes equally valuable is not just what is communicated *by* the gift but also to what is communicated *about* the gift, as this influences how we, culturally, see and interpret the act of giving.

Finally, one of the ways in which theories of the gift have been reframed is in terms of gender. Weiner (1992) proposes that some gifts are reserved from everyday exchange. These gifts tend to have deep cultural, familial and spiritual significance often aiding in the telling and re-telling of traditional narratives. She points out that these gifts have an inalienability ascribed to them as a piece of the 'giver' (and previous owners) follows the good. Women's work, in many cultures, according to Weiner, includes the

care for these sacred items. The ability to possess, circulate and redistribute these goods provides a deep source of socio-political power to women in terms of giving. She expands discussions of giving beyond what is exchanged in the 'everyday' to what is withheld from general gifting and by doing this opens up an entirely space of gifting in relation to gender. Weiner notes the invisibility of gender in early gift scholarship but gender is beginning to surface more in dialogue around the gift (Komter, 2005; Godelier, 1999; Shrift, 1997; Vaughan, 1997; Strathern, 1990; Cheal, 1988). Its earlier absence is quite surprising considering that the gift is so embedded in the formation of relationships and care, which tend to be fairly gendered spaces. Therefore, in moving forward with the politics of giving the role of gender has to become more central.

This exploration broke open the gift and moved far beyond the rigid binary of the gift-commodity relationship. Breaking that dichotomy is critical in discussions of the development good as notions of the gift are embedded within the commodity and the commodity is, in turn transformed through its relationship with the gift. The gift was then rearticulated as a space for multiple, fluid, shifting, conflicting and subjective understandings of exchange. Moving forward, this opens up giving as a practice filled with multiple messages, connections and disconnections, some celebrated and revealed some more ideological and concealed. The gift's enduring value moving through traditional to more consumer-oriented culture speaks to a function far beyond the accumulation of goods. Its resiliency to adapt and re-adapt to changing social, political, and economic environments speaks to the persistent cultural value of the gift.

The chapters that follow will explore the function of the gift in relation international development and foreign power structures. Discussions of gift theory underpin the more in depth examination of corporate fundraising through the sale of consumer goods and services in support of international development projects. The intersection of the gift-commodity tension, communication practices and gender politics position the gift as a site of struggle and negotiation. Chapters to come will track constructions of 'gift' through a selection of related practices based on power and difference- charity, philanthropy, missionary intervention, colonialism, post-colonialism and international development to demonstrate its tremendous capacity to shadow both political and capital interests while at the same time producing discourses based on salvation, assistance and need.

Chapter Two

Exploring the Tangled Relations of Charity and Philanthropy

It might be suggested that in this modern age gift-giving's importance decreases or lacks the significance of past eras. Cheal (1988) re-articulates the act of gift-giving as 'ritual communication'. He sees gifting as not having disappeared but having been re-purposed as a primarily communicative act, circulating meaning around one's identity, intention or interest. The communicative capacity of the gift is profound, as it always has been. However, Cheal's framing of the gift appears to position it as an entirely too symbolic construction. The gift exists and moves within personal relationships but in theory it also moves between institutions, states, strangers and organizations. The ideological underpinnings, strategic value and diverse functions of the gift cannot be forgotten.

Top down capitalist models are systems that exclude and exploit significant populations around the world. For this reason, in order to reproduce themselves, societies and systems must intervene (Godelier, 1999). This is where the 'gift' sector re-emerges and giving is once again understood relevant to basic survival and social wellbeing. As expressions of gift in the recent modern world fell into more private and familial spheres, the growing structural inequity in the world made way for the re-emergence of the gift, particularly the 'unreturned' gifts of charity and philanthropy.

This chapter will begin by attempting to untangle or at least explore the tangle of representations attached to notions of philanthropy and charity. Often used interchangeably, this literature will review how the two concepts are defined against one

another but without absolute consensus (Bremner, 1988; Hew & Hove, 1997; Godelier, 1999; Friedman & McGarvie, 2004). As patterns emerge around the distinctions between charity and philanthropy as well as their relationships to religious institutions, the state and capital the unique functions of each will be more carefully considered.

The development good model explored through this dissertation is especially interested in the particular value of the gift to private sector agencies. Derrida (1992), as noted previously, argued that any examination of 'gift' should also include a study of how that gift relates to the economy and other modes of exchange. As the development good is a gift primarily facilitated by market structures it is especially crucial to consider both the functions served by philanthropy as well as the private sector gift's broader relationship to capital.

Philanthropy and its Relationship to Charity

As Fischer, Gainer & Arnold (1996) write, conventional gift giving requires both social relationships and occasions for giving (institutionalized or personal). This is where one can see the defining break between traditional modes of giving and acts of charity and philanthropy. Defined as "a transfer of goods, services or experiences which does not directly reciprocate" (p. 184) by Fischer, Gainer and Arnold, charity does not require any previous social relationship nor is it restricted to cultural and institutionalized occasions for giving. This is not to say an overlap does not exist between what is understood as charity and what might be considered more typical gift-giving events but these differences mark key points of departure between the two concepts. The authors also indicate that charity upsets the conventional model of giving in a number of other ways:

cash becomes the most common object transacted; exchange happens at the donor's convenience, sometimes by request; and, the idea communicated through an act of charity is different than the sentiment behind a personal gift. What is most profound in this model is that charity is defined by the lack of direct relationship over the absence of reciprocity.

Having established how charity and philanthropy are distinct from traditional modes of the gift, the next question to consider is how they are different from one another. In discussions of voluntary giving, this section will reflect on the definitions and defining features of charity and philanthropy, explore theories of the emergence of a philanthropic model in both British and North American contexts, and, finally, by looking at the enduring cultural power of philanthropy and its relationship to capital we will consider the diverse and sometimes conflicting interests of a philanthropic model of giving.

Defining Philanthropy against Charity

Often used interchangeably, the terms charity and philanthropy are both invoked to describe an entire spectrum of voluntary giving. Friedman and McGarvie (2004) describe their meaning as being 'multiple and shifting'. Looking back to the etymology of the words the interconnectedness is obvious. Philanthropy comes from *philanthropia* which is Greek for 'loving what it means to be human' and charity comes from the Latin word *caritas* which is roughly translated as a loving kindness toward all others. To this day the overlap is tremendous. In turn, what one theorist describes as philanthropy another might define as charity and vice versa. In fact, Payton and Moody (2008) argue that historically the word charity has been used to describe much of what is today

considered 'philanthropy'. It therefore becomes problematic to attempt to fully define the language and separate or categorize practices as specifically representing either charity or philanthropy.

Constructions of Charity and Philanthropy

Upon reflection, charity seems to sometimes fall under the broader philanthropy and other times it appears that philanthropy is a very specific form of charitable giving. This dialogic speaks to the circular, overlapping, complementary and at times competing constructions of charity and philanthropy in everyday language. Having said that, some very real distinctions emerge in literature around charity and philanthropy, mainly that they seem to be defined by their ends rather than their means. The basic acts of engaging in philanthropy and engaging in charity appear similar (voluntary giving of resources and time), however, the investment is what sets them apart. Many theorists see philanthropy as a much more inclusive model of giving that moves beyond charity's basic alleviation of suffering to identify an investment in the social, political and cultural wellbeing of a community.

In their 2008 text, *Understanding Philanthropy*, Payton and Moody open the discussion by asking, what is philanthropy? Their response, voluntary action for public good or a moral response to a human problem comes from Payton's previous work *Philanthropy: Voluntary Action for the Public Good* (1988). They then break this down into voluntary giving, voluntary service and voluntary association. Payton and Moody argue that in an American context almost all citizens have benefited from some form of philanthropy. They make the distinction that although many have not benefited directly

from charity most American citizens have in some way benefited from philanthropic contributions to libraries, arts and cultural centers and medical advancement funded by philanthropists. Bremner (1988) agrees that the interest of philanthropy extends well beyond the restricted understanding of charity as meeting the needs of the impoverished. Regardless of what motivates the individual philanthropist, he states, the aim of philanthropy is bettering the overall quality of human life.

Hewa and Hove (1997) describe the distinction as follows, “charity is mercy given to relieve suffering of individuals, while philanthropy includes benevolent support for the improvement of the socio-economic conditions of the community” (p. 4). Similarly, Godelier’s (1999) feeling is that charity is temporary and tends to react to social problems. As noted above themes around the ‘reactive’ and ‘proactive’ nature of investments as well as the ‘individual’ and the ‘community’ nature of the acts seem mark a significant point of departure between the two models. Godelier further argues charity lacks overall sustainability and cannot be an answer as it treats the symptoms rather than the causes of vulnerability. Finally, Payton and Moody (2008) argue that philanthropy exists due to two specific ‘truths’ about human societies: 1) that things can easily go wrong, and 2) that there is always a way to do things better. Acknowledging the shifting nature of these claims, they add that ‘charity’ is usually tied to the former and broader concepts of ‘philanthropy’ to the latter. What emerges from the literature is a constant definition of philanthropy based on the defining features of charity.

Carnegie’s Philanthropy

These understandings of philanthropy are very much influenced by Andrew Carnegie's 1889 publication, *The Gospel of Wealth*. He saw traditional charity as reacting to and in some cases reproducing social problems, poor health outcomes, low literacy and poverty rather than creating societal change. In some case Carnegie also felt that indiscriminate giving is actually quite dangerous. For this reason he shifted to what he understood to be a more 'philanthropic' (community) mode of distributing wealth by founding universities and hospitals as well as building public parks, libraries, swimming pools and meeting halls. He saw these endeavors as aiding those 'worthy' and 'wanting' of help rather than the "slothful, drunken and unworthy" (2000, p. 26). There is a sentiment that the building of healthy communities through philanthropic activity impacts everyone and addresses the underlying causes of injustice whereas charity simply reacts to and in some cases reproduces societal breakdown. Like many philanthropic models to come, Carnegies was also very aware of the cultural capital, admiration, power and prestige guaranteed and made possible through acts of giving. Philanthropists, he suggested, may die poorer in terms of wealth but rich in gratitude from the wider population.

The potential for fully untangling constructions of and relationships between charitable and philanthropic practices remain challenging but critical. The defining themes which continue to emerge focus on a reactive and individualized response (charity) as opposed to a more public and proactive response to societal and structural issues (philanthropy). The charitable model, as described here, appears to responsibilize the individual or individual circumstance whereas the philanthropic position identifies

systemic deficit. It further seems that understandings of philanthropy are shaped by narratives of investment and growth but that the word charity has become rather stigmatized as superficial, enabling and potentially contributing to cycles of helplessness. It follows that an organizational move away from this language in favour of the more widely embraced 'philanthropy' without adjusting organizational mandate might further account for the collapse, confusion and interchangeability around terminology.

It remains problematic to consider the two models in isolation, as interpretations of and use of language around the two models continue to be very subjective. One can be comfortable noting the discursive tendencies for philanthropy to be defined as proactive social investment and for charity as a more reactive individualized response. Is this an accurate representation of institutionalized models of giving? No, it fails to fully consider the grey and overlapping spaces. Also, by understanding charity as an individualized and reactive process and philanthropy as a public process, understandings fail to see the relationship between the parts and the whole. To depict charity as being about the individual and philanthropy as an investment in the public is a failure to note that the public is comprised of individuals. Philanthropy is an individual and public process as is charity. Having said that and acknowledging the overlapping territory represented by this particular language, the term charity will be used to denote *tendencies* toward actions that seek to alleviate the immediate suffering of others and philanthropy will be employed to identify *tendencies* toward broader social investment for public good.

The Emergence of Philanthropy

The emergence of philanthropy is a contested field of study, often defined against discussions of charity. There seem to be at least three distinct positions on the relationships between, and development of models of, charity and philanthropy. They will be referred to as evolutionary, professionalization and parallel development.

Evolution of Charity to Philanthropy

Anheier and Leat (2006) describe charity as being the precursor to modern constructions of philanthropy, suggesting an evolution from what is currently described as charity to models of philanthropy. They explain that in the past, charity acted as more of a response to human suffering, particularly poverty and healthcare outcomes. They argue that this expansion was widely practiced until the early 20th century but that overall the approach lacks sustainability and simply treats the symptoms of societal breakdown rather than the root causes. As the state moved into the realm of social welfare, charities were able to expand their mandate. This is what initiated the shift toward philanthropy and addressing the foundations of injustice. Education and research took priority over service and eventually private sector alliances were also incorporated into the philanthropic model. Similarly, Friedman & McGarvie (2004) claim that American and British philanthropy until the 18th century was practiced as charity. Again, the authors see a linear evolution between the models. They see charity as being more localized superficial rather than seeking out the root causes of social problems. However what is most compelling in this framing is not just that they see a transformation or evolution from charity to philanthropy but they continue to position charity as being practiced

within the larger field of philanthropy. It is perhaps this notion of philanthropy as the evolved and inclusive model that has contributed to the cultural preference for language around philanthropy over charity.

The Professionalization of Charity

The second theory of philanthropic development is one of professionalization, Robert Gross (2004) explains the professionalization of charitable organizations and culture produced the field of philanthropy. This articulates philanthropy to be a more evolved and complex form of charity. The work intentionally avoids using the term 'institutionalization' of charity because charity has always been deeply embedded in institutional practices, religion being a prime example. Ben-Amos (2008) notes the organization of responses through associations between 1696 and 1712 as being a key indicator of the emergence of philanthropy. A leading collective, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) was influential in setting up schools, workhouses, funds for poor prisoners and hospitals. The ongoing charitable project of building and financing hospitals, the diversity in opportunities for giving, the changing practices of giving in relation to religious institutions as well as the development of charitable 'intermediaries' marks a very significant period of change in the history of philanthropy in the mind of Ben-Amos. Gross too suggests that the shift from 'charity' to 'philanthropy' was firmly in place by the 1800s in America. He acknowledges that of course people still assist and engage on the local level but by this time charitable leanings were often mediated by philanthropic organizations.

The basic idea within Gross (2004) seems to be that 'charity' denotes the local while 'philanthropy' speaks to the development of industry and increased mediation within modes of giving. He touches on two important themes within the dialogue. First Gross does point to the transformation from individualized acts of charity to industrialized and professionalized philanthropy as being what sets the two apart, much like Friedman and McGarvie (2004). Second, accompanying his privileging of professionalization is a sense of scale. The term philanthropy suggests a grandness and formality that was made possible through industrial developments. Hewa and Hove (1997) also spoke to philanthropy's demand for complex organizational structures, ability to mobilize community resources and to recruit like-minded individuals. They compare this to what they describe as charity's very localized and individualized response. Ben-Amos notes that the emergence of philanthropy and organization around giving provided increased opportunity for the performance of giving. Philanthropy was often accompanied by publicity in a way that charity was not and therefore the social and cultural benefits of giving became more visible. Charitability became a virtue while philanthropy became an industry, a space for the practice and performance of the gift.

It must be pointed out that this shift from what tends to be understood as charity to philanthropy is not universal. The authors above propose that increasing social complexity might account (at least in part) for the shift from charity to professional and mediated philanthropic models. As Hewa and Hove (1997) argue, in many communities, particularly the colonial and postcolonial state this transformation did not occur. They acknowledge that the traditional belief in the value of giving and sharing of one's time

and resources exists in most, if not all cultures, but philanthropy as an organizational model does not. One suggestion, for example, is that authoritarian and colonial rule prevents citizens from accessing the institutional knowledge and autonomy necessary for the professionalization of charitable interests. In fact, the authors further depict the arrival of 20th century Western philanthropic practices into Asian communities as being met with much suspicion and distrust as it evoked colonial and missionary relations of power and domination in postcolonial states.

Parallel Development

Finally, the third theme in the emergence of philanthropy is one of parallel development and it is found in the work of Bishop and Green (2008). Unlike Anheier and Leat (2006) and Friedman & McGarvie (2002), Bishop and Green do not see constructions of philanthropy and charity as being the product of specific and somewhat linear historical eras. They choose to argue that although people tend to look at the Victorians, Carnegie and Rockefeller as initiating 'Golden Eras' in philanthropy and transforming modes of giving (from reactive charity to proactive community building), philanthropic activity has existed alongside charitable responses since ancient times. Aristotle saw philanthropy as a way of serving the state rather than the individual where gifts came in the form of sponsorship for sporting competitions and the arts. This created opportunity for wider community engagement and benefited the whole. They also provide the example of Roman general Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa who voluntarily repaired public buildings, erected statues, donated salt and olive oil to the population, paid for community member haircuts and cleaned out the sewage system. The authors also

indicate that Romans would have been shocked and confused by ideas of social solidarity amongst all- especially those not included in the official citizenry such as enslaved populations.

The Christian church, which was adopted by the Roman Empire, then reconceptualized early ideas around philanthropy and civic participation into charity and love for all mankind, not just 'citizens'. This expanded response included society's most vulnerable and therefore the shift required attention to poverty, healthcare and basic needs. The church then declared itself responsible for the running of hospitals and charity was popularized. This example is significant in that this particular context demonstrates philanthropic activity as pre-dating or at least developing in tandem with what is typically described as charity. This therefore upsets the two previous arguments: that a linear transformation from meeting the needs of societies most vulnerable to a more inclusive interest in public wellbeing after the introduction of the welfare state took place; and, that local models of charity were replaced by more mediated experiences of philanthropy due to increasing social complexity and the professionalization of the field. Bishop and Green demonstrate that broader more inclusive social and political agendas and philanthropic leanings co-existed with the localized, individualized charitable model; there was no 'great transformation'. Having disputed the theories of evolution and professionalization, philanthropy is situated as having much deeper historical roots than is often imagined. The longevity and resilience of philanthropy point to an enduring cultural power. The following discussion will chart the 'ebb and flow' of philanthropy and its ability to shrink and expand in response to social, political and economic consequences.

The Cultural Power of Charity and Philanthropy

Anheier and Leat (2006) claim that charitable and philanthropic responses evolved under many names and in many places, often originating from religious tradition. However, it should be noted that charity (response to alleviate suffering) is the more deeply embedded model of giving. Godelier (1999) claims that although charity may have been at one time rooted in religion and theological virtue, it has become secularized into a sentiment of human solidarity. Ben-Amos (2008) disagrees with Godelier as she stands firm that charity remains very much tied to religious institutions and interests. The relationship to religious institutions should perhaps be teased out as one of the defining features of charity because it accounts for significant practical implications. Charity or an organized response to alleviate the suffering of others exists in most religions around the world. Existing as fundamental religious practice, charity, therefore became a cultural constant, providing stability to its practice and value.

Philanthropy, on the other hand, has continued to ebb and flow in response to complex social and political contexts for centuries (Bishop and Green, 2008). This is not to suggest a disconnect between philanthropy and religion. Many philanthropists, especially the early mega-philanthropists, cited religious motivations for their interest in giving (Carnegie, 2006). Additionally, there are many charities that do not proclaim any religious affiliation. What is important here is to note that the historical relationship between charity and religious institutions secured its place in cultural practices, whereas the enduring cultural power of philanthropy is not directly derived from its religiosity. Here, we will explore and illustrate the continued ability of philanthropy to readapt and

respond to pressing social issues. England will be used as a case to document the more stabilized charitable practice and an American context will be added to discussions of the more fluid philanthropic response.

Charity

Ben-Amos (2008) describes charitable practices in England during the Medieval period and beyond. Medieval English charity consisted of lifetime and deathbed gifts, stemming from belief in the merit of gifts as intercession for the souls of the dead. Most of these gifts were directed through the church, although some were more secular supports for the poor and suffering. Individuals sometimes willed annual sums of bread and grain to be distributed to prisoners and others in need. Nobility and elite populations also commonly engaged in large household feasts and celebrations that included inviting some impoverished employees to dine as well as giving away food at the property gates.

Occurring roughly two centuries later, the Protestant Reformation created slightly more distance between charitable giving and its religious origins. New practices moved away from gifts to religious organizations, at the time of death it was no longer critical to pay to have a priest say mass in the name of the deceased or pay for prayers in the name of those who have passed away. Although this does not sever the general connections between death and charity, Ben-Amos (2008) credits Jordan (2006) with identifying a distinct secularization and growth in giving beyond the church at this particular time. Ben-Amos herself is less comfortable with the idea of 'secularization' as cultural reasons for giving are often still embedded in discourses of religion. However, she agrees conceptually that there was a distinct re-structuring of giving in relation to religion.

From the period of 1540-1660 bequests of the wealthy became quite excessive but also private gifts to almshouses and poor boxes, testamentary bequests, household gifts and ritualized giving during times of celebration became increasingly complex (Ben-Amos, 2008). In fact in 1601 the Elizabethan Statute of Charitable Uses articulated the 'proper' uses of donations and charitable gifts directed to the poor and appointed Charity Commissioners to facilitate such transfers. Enactment of the British Poor Laws situated the state as a central player in responses to the disenfranchised. In many ways the 'charitable sector' and the church were both eclipsed and the role of charitable and philanthropic structures declined. Although this might appear to be a break between charity and church, one must not forget the deep alignment between state and church at this particular time. Even though the state is identified as becoming a key player in the charitable sector, this in no way suggest a disconnect from religious practice.

By the arrival of the 18th century giving had been somewhat diversified into more informal structures of giving (Ben-Amos, 2008). Identified are four social spaces of reciprocity: parents and offspring; networks of support such as extended kinship, households, friends and neighbourhoods; parishes, professional guilds, and mutual aid societies; and, the charitable gift sector. These networks, founded on the logic of reciprocity, assume a flow of giving would be available to donors, should they ever be in need. Although charity's direct relationship with religion and state does evolve overtime, charity remained a constant and fundamental societal and cultural construct, likely due, in part, to its religious foundation.

Philanthropy

Bishop and Green (2008) position widespread cultural interest in social improvements as coinciding with the emergence of capitalism. As private wealth accumulation became possible the independence and mobility of populations increased. The decline of feudalism meant that peasants were forced off their land and the move to an urban environment was not always a choice. Europe experienced a population boom in many urban cities. Urbanization meant that tremendous numbers of people were moving into cities and poverty was becoming concentrated in particular geographic areas. This population growth created great strain, human suffering and needs to which 'newly rich merchants' responded with great force. The activities taken up went beyond palliative care to a deep consideration of possible solutions in terms of housing, poverty and entrepreneurialism. Giving became so widely practiced that the state created legislation around charitable giving and enacted the Poor Law to provide a degree of social welfare. The authors refer to this era as the first golden age of philanthropy.

Bishop and Green (2008) then argue that a series of European wars affected the region and philanthropy fell into sharp decline. Peace and prosperity of the 18th century are credited with reinvigorating the philanthropic model. The authors claim that the appearance of the joint stock company created much more opportunity for the generation of wealth and social investment. Philanthropy once again gained much social currency until the writing of economists and scholars began to repress practices around giving, charity and philanthropy. For example, David Ricardo urged that philanthropy and charity were contributing to unemployment and refusals to work and Thomas Malthus who similarly claimed that population growth was going to endanger global food supplies.

Industrialization's horrid working conditions and increased urbanization once again created need for an intervention that has been reflected in the work of Dickens. Bishop and Green (2008) point to the Victorians as being the single most influential and engaged group of people responding to the needs (and perceived needs) of others. The Victorians also looked beyond their borders through missionary campaigns. Charitable organizations wished the government to refrain from directly engaging in issues of poverty but the state saw social problems as a threat to security and therefore implemented a more comprehensive welfare system in order to guarantee the support of the working class against socialist movements. This shifted attention away from popular philanthropy agendas and required increases in tax revenue. Once again philanthropy fell out of favour until, as the authors note, wealthy American industrialists such as John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie changed the face of giving and became the first 'mega-philanthropists'. Together they invested hundreds of millions of dollars in educational programs, public spaces, libraries, scholarships and private foundations. Andrew Carnegie's publication *The Gospel of Wealth* (2000) continues to be referenced by many philanthropists and is reported to have been given to Bill Gates by Warren Buffett to encourage another generation of 'mega-philanthropy'.

Although the early American philanthropists are often identified as making the 'New World' contribution to models of philanthropy based on Victorian ideals, Bremner (1988) argues that historical representations of the emergence of philanthropy in a North American context must be expanded to consider another era he describes as fundamental to the development of philanthropic practices in North America. Bremner nods to early

European settlers' experience with indigenous American populations and early Puritan teachings of the 17th century. He puts forward a new theory of American philanthropy that highlights the role of Native American populations. Instead of understanding American philanthropy as an imported or inherited British construct, American philanthropy is characterized as being shaped by the indigenous population that gave gifts with much love "as if their hearts went with it" (p.3). Early European populations were provided with tremendous resources and teachings about the land to ensure their survival.

Philanthropy and the World

Bishop and Green's (2008) conceptualization of the expanding and shrinking but ever-present existence of philanthropy is critical in that it demonstrates the elasticity, resilience and cultural power of a construct based on voluntary action and distribution of wealth. Just as Bishop and Green demonstrated the fluidity of popular constructions of philanthropy over time, Bremner (1988) goes on to look at how colonial policy, economic depression, war, reconstruction and foreign investment bend and pull the practices of philanthropy to meet the needs of society's most vulnerable in an American context. It should be noted that his conceptualization of philanthropy appears to overlap with understandings of charity as breadlines, for example, seem to be more aligned with discussions of charitable response (localized alleviation of suffering) more so than typical philanthropic activity (investment in social responses that address structural needs). In fact, this particular discussion seems to contradict his original differentiation of the two models. Although this might create a bit of confusion, it is a good reminder of how

collapsed and very fine the lines between the models can become leaving categorization a very subjective act.

Bremner (1988) argues that colonization provided an opportunity for Americans (and other colonial powers) to think beyond the nation state and began to consider the salvation of the 'other' as a philanthropic endeavour. The larger project of colonization, according to its ideological claims, sought to improve the living conditions and wellbeing in foreign nations. Although colonization is no longer officially linked to discourses of philanthropy, the rhetoric of aid, assistance and salvation were very much employed to justify and explain foreign interventions. As relationships, flows of capital and transfers of resources increased between the metropol and the colonized land, models of philanthropy followed. By the 1820s, philanthropic organizations, within and beyond the state had a multitude of 'benevolent organizations', so many that reformers themselves sought some structure for consolidation and coordination.

The mid to late 1800s witnessed immense interest in the practices of philanthropy and 'philanthropology' became a 'scientific' field of study. By the time of the Great Depression, American philanthropy became so critical to the country's survival that people all over the country responded in any way possible. Bremner adds that mafia boss Al Capone even sponsored a breadline. The arrival of the New Deal brought some ambivalence to the field of philanthropy as people wondered if it would become obsolete. Clearly this concern soon became a non-issue as philanthropy is very much in demand to this day. Looking at the Canadian context, MacLennan (1987) documented the role of charity and philanthropy in rising to respond to the extreme vulnerability of the

depression era. In both the American and Canadian responses to poverty and unemployment, charity and philanthropy were insufficient for the scale of response required. MacLennan argues that the tremendous burden placed on philanthropic and charitable agencies brought about advocacy for government intervention, contributing to changes in social welfare systems and supports.

World events continued to shape the culture of the gift. The world wars naturally demanded a domestic philanthropic and charitable response but they were also key in escorting American philanthropy onto the world stage. European reconstruction through the Marshall Plan provided space for the increasing institutionalization and globalization of philanthropy. In 1949 Truman introduced his 'Point Four' foreign aid agenda. He advocated for assistance to the world's most vulnerable before they become a threat to the safety and security of all. Playing out on a global level, national interests became more transparent and are used to justify intervention through 'gift'. Truman's position on foreign aid directly connects acts of giving with wider political interests. He exposes the ideological interests in philanthropy more so than most donors.

Together, Bishop and Green (2008) and Bremner (1988) demonstrate the organic nature of philanthropy. Given Bishop and Green's thick description of philanthropic engagement throughout time it is no longer accurate to think of philanthropy as simply a more 'evolved' or 'professionalized' state of charity. Voluntary interests in both the immediate alleviation of suffering as well as long-term investments in improving the overall social experience have co-existed for thousands of years. This begs the question, why? In order to provide a rich picture of the social, political and ideological functions of

the philanthropic model, this particular system of giving has to be considered in relation to the state and the market. Once these are illuminated the power structures that exist around and underpin philanthropy will become more visible.

Philanthropy and Capital

The 'ebb and flow' of philanthropy in reaction to social and political circumstances demonstrates the adaptability of these models to 'shape-shift' in particular eras and particular contexts over time. Charity was very much embedded in religious practice therefore its enduring value can be traced beyond functionality. For example Bremner (1988) argues that Puritan preachers, such as Cotton Mather and John Winthrop, preached that 'good' deeds and service to others led to salvation. They, along with most other Puritan preachers, emphasized duty to the impoverished but saw both wealth and poverty as being divinely ordained. Puritans believed that aid to the poor brought believers great honour. Philanthropy, though it might be shaped by religion and play a significant part supporting religious institutions (Kaplan, 2000), does not serve as a fundamental cornerstone of religiosity (although as previously noted, Bishop and Green in 2008, hint that philanthropy may have inspired Christianity's interest in charity). For that reason, the resilience of philanthropic models, in particular, needs to be explored as it speaks to the ongoing cultural power of the practice for both the donor and the recipients.

The significance of giving, in terms of the recipients, is in many ways more obvious because it facilitates a flow of needed resources. However, it is equally important to consider the diverse interests of the philanthropist as one tries to fully understand philanthropic actions and incentive. Burlingame declares "altruism is not the

single motive for defining philanthropy, nor is it necessarily the desired operational motive. It is further not very fruitful to attempt to explain philanthropic action by emphasizing either one motive (altruism) to the exclusion of the other (egoism) when the prevailing evidence clearly indicates that both motives are jointly at work causing the philanthropic action to occur” (p.7 as cited in Hewa and Hove, 1997). Tensions between altruism and egoism exist within all models of giving, philanthropy included.

Nonetheless, the fact that philanthropy exists outside of purely personal relationships to include gifts between individuals, institutions, organizations and nations requires that philanthropic motivation be expanded to consider the social, political, economic and ideological value of philanthropy.

In its current incarnation, Payton and Moody (2008) further describe philanthropy as being an integral part of the functioning of the state. They propose a three sector society: government would be the first sector concerned with issues of power and force; business would be the second sector concerned with the creation of wealth; finally, philanthropy is the third sector, tackling issues of morality. It is important to note that these sectors are not distinct but rather operate interdependently. Payton and Moody use Zerubavel’s idea of the messy, shifting and ‘fuzzy’ boundaries of social life to describe the relations between the sectors. The authors claim that the sectors both complement and compete with one another. This model is useful in highlighting the overlapping nature of relations between the state, the private sector and the very broad practices of philanthropy. Examples provided by the authors include: not-for-profit and philanthropic organizations are often closely linked to both the state and the private sector; sometimes

the work of the philanthropic organizations resembles that of the state or a business; the state and private sector both tend to have philanthropic interests; and, this structure (the three sector model) requires that the market, the state and philanthropic institutions all work together to affect the building of society as a whole.

Philanthropy as a Shadow of Capital

Payton and Moody (2008) are useful to discussing philanthropy because they emphasize the relationship between the market, the state and philanthropy. Here we get to an interesting point in the discussion of philanthropy, its relationship to capital. Unlike charity, which appears to emerge from and react to an absence of capital, philanthropy tends to shadow capital. This is, arguably, an entirely too 'neat and tidy' conceptualization. Yet, philanthropy tends to be based in private individual and institutional wealth. Charity is not typically embedded in privatized systems of wealth, although it does depend on support from those with access to resources (ranging from limited to excessive). In fact charitable status requires that organizations be accessible to the public. Furthermore, Hewa and Hove (1997) have noted that philanthropy, contrasted with charity, (which does exist in most cultures and world religions) does not exist everywhere in the world. They argue that in the postcolonial state, philanthropy often did not emerge due to the inaccessibility of state infrastructure resulting from authoritarian power structures. Relations of exploitation and dominations not only prevented the logistics of organization but also hampered communities' ability to imagine structures beside those imposed.

Hewa and Hove (1997) are clearly proponents of the professionalization model of philanthropy that identifies philanthropy as being an industrialized and increasingly mediated model of charity and as previously noted that model appears problematic. There is no doubt that colonial and authoritarian rule devastated indigenous and foreign populations around the world. However, Bishop and Green (2008) have identified philanthropic interests that predate the professionalization and industrialization of philanthropy leading one to question whether the absence of philanthropy in some communities is also related to a lack of resources (access to resources in a postcolonial state would have been controlled by powerful elite), a lack of capital and even in a more modern context, the lack of capitalist systems of production.

Just as one might begin to question the relationships between capital and philanthropy, the third side in Payton and Moody's (2008) model – the state - needs to be considered (and will be more fully taken up later in the following chapter through discussions of international development). If philanthropy, in some cases but certainly not all, has the power to shadow and even act on behalf of capital, its ability to carry out the ideological interests of the state also need to be explored. Although the term 'philanthropy' tends to speak to private funds and funders, the gift at the level of the state has tremendous power and influence. Escobar (1995), as noted above, connects foreign aid with the nation's own domestic security. Truman openly acknowledged that 'assisting' vulnerable populations would prevent the threat of uprising or attack. In the current model of development, private philanthropists such as Bill Gates, are active in

supporting the work of other states and in some cases bypassing and replacing the role of the state in funding public initiatives.

Philanthropy, in this respect is able to influence state dealings at home and abroad in foreign and domestic states and, potentially, advance individual and institution interests. Currently, the flow of goods and services between states that is constructed as 'gift' is done so through a process of official development assistance and non-profit organizations (again, this will be taken up later in the next chapter). In the past, relationships between states that depended on the flow of goods, services and resources were often organized through missionary and colonial structures. Together these contexts account for some of the most violent exchanges of 'gift' experienced by people and communities but clearly highlight the potential power structures at work in systems of exchange.

Conclusions

Friedman and McGarvie (2004) are important in the discussion of charity and philanthropy as they describe the relationship between the models as multiple and shifting. So often used interchangeably the overlapping nature of how they are understood and applied must remain central to discussion of the gift. Distinct from more traditional modes of gift, both charity and philanthropy suggest no direct prior social relationship between the donor and the recipient (Fischer, Gainer & Arnold, 1996). Although there is debate around the origins and exactly what constitutes philanthropy versus charity, there does appear to be some agreement that charity is directed toward a more reactive, localized and individualized context whereas philanthropy is proactive and of benefit to a

more general public (Payton & Moody, 2008; Godelier, 1999; Hewa & Hove, 1997; Payton, 1988; Bremner, 1988). By beginning to untangle these conceptualizations of gift, instead of lumping them all together, the functions of particular modes of gifting become more visible.

Philanthropy, in particular, expands the scale of the gift. It would be wise, then, to consider the scale of interests embedded in this mode of gifting. Payton and Moody (2008) are quick to link the interests of capital with the practice of philanthropy. This is the point I want to pull out as we move forward with discussions of the gift. As argued in this chapter, charity and philanthropy have different relationships with both the state and capital. Charity appears to emerge from a lack of capital but philanthropy emerges from a surplus of wealth and, in many cases, shadows capital very closely. The interlock between philanthropy and capital is key to discussions of 'who benefits and how?' (in relation to the development good) as philanthropy clearly has the ability to, in some cases, act on behalf of capital.

The following chapter will extend this examination of the strategic and concealed interests of the gift to explore projects framed as 'gift to other' through generations of missionary intervention, colonialism and international development. The development good model is very much aligned with the notion of 'gift to other' and establishing historical patterns around re-inventions of gift speaks to both its resilience but also the many functions served by the gift in a more international context.

Chapter Three

The Genealogy of the Gift in International Development

The projects of charity and philanthropy are very much related to the genealogy of the gift. Underpinning the relationships between donors and recipients, these enduring practices might be said to provide the DNA for current generations of gift. Studying the transfer of goods and services from populations considered 'have' to those considered 'have not' is not novel but the following discussion will consider the implications of such a gift on a more global scale as well as its resilience to respond to changing times and economic culture .

Escobar (1995) recognizes that in order to fully explore development discourses they must be understood as the products of specific historical processes. This is also true for understanding the politics and power relations embedded in the development good model, and fundraising for humanitarian assistance, as they become critical sources of meaning in articulations of aid and development. Escobar argues that countries must reflect on what contributed to the making (and imagining) of their newly acquired 'third world' status in the postcolonial era. New instruments and ideas around measurement, modernization, progress and development emerged representing a fundamental shift in how communities and cultures understood and responded to each other. Escobar describes these ideas as "an illustrious genealogy of western conceptions" (p.7). Very much embedded in these constructions have been ideas of interventions to 'assist', 'aid' and 'help' populations reach a fuller (Western) potential. In most cases, intervention came in

the form of a 'gift'. Therefore, it becomes critical to explore the practices of gifting in the making, and arguably unmaking of populations at home and abroad.

What follows is a telling string of social constructs representing systems and relationships of gift that fell in and out of favour overtime. This genealogy isn't always linear and at times it might be in conflict with itself. Although the rhetoric and actors might change, the general principles and themes of power, prestige, cultural superiority, control of resources, modernization and dependency that are all set in motion by the gift remain constant.

Missionary and Colonial 'Gifts'

Missionary and colonial interests were often shrouded in the rhetoric and sentiment of philanthropy and giving. In fact, Bremner (1988) writes that colonization emerged during a time of great expansion in the field of philanthropy. The models are, ideologically, similar to and colonization is sometimes understood as an extension of the philanthropic project. Theoretically, the gifts of 'salvation', 'civilization', 'progress' and 'modernization' are promised to flow through foreign intervention, exchange and 'gift'. The individual projects of missionary intervention and colonialism are aligned with religious institutions and political (economic) bodies respectively, yet as so many of these models continue to demonstrate, nothing exists in isolation. Here the complex interplay between missionary involvement and colonial interventions will be explored and Canada will be used as an example to point out the ambiguities of overlapping structures. The power of these systems to create new opportunities for women and brand populations through extensive communications networks will also be considered. Finally, the colonial

context and the subsequent structures of post-colonialism and neo-colonialism will touch on both the ghosts and the re-inventions of these power dynamics.

The Missionary and Colonial Relationship

Hart (2008) says “in the question of empires and colonies, we inhabit paradox, contradiction and ambivalence” (p.292). This comes to the fore when we try to define the differences between colonial and missionary spaces. The obvious distinctions appear to come from the intention rather than the practices. Missionary activity was centered around discourses of religious salvation, often accompanied by primary healthcare and educational supports. Colonial discourses, on the other hand, tend to evoke ideas of economy, politics and imperialism. The fluidity and plurality of these models makes it impossible to fully account for and communicate the nature of the relationships between colonial and missionary activity. Having the potential to act in conflict or in concert, these structures are a source of much ambiguity. For example, some researchers identify missionary work as existing as a potential space of resistance against colonial domination (De Gruchy, 2000; Osterhammel, 2005) while others position missionary work as being significant not only to colonial apparatuses of power but institutionalized slavery (Ballard, 2008).

In an attempt to represent the complexities of missionary and colonial experience, Rutherford (2002) invokes the work of Homi Bhabha. Instead of considering static and isolated colonizer-colonized subjectivities, she advocates for a consideration of the local and cultural context and identifies spaces of colonization as well as spaces of resistance in order to disrupt problematic binaries. Power is more shifting than is sometimes

conceptualized, therefore Rutherford advocates for using the term 'colonialisms' to better represent the multiple experiences of power relations. This logic could easily be extended to the experience of missionary engagement. By considering the local and the individual experience, it becomes easier to understand the range of relationships engaged in the missionary and colonial space. Just as we consider the practices of colonial and missionary structures to be constructed in time, based on circumstance and subjectively interpreted, we must consider the relationship *between* the power structures of missionary engagement and colonial rule in the same way.

Disturbance

Accepting that experiences and interpretations of relationships with a missionary or colonial body are varied and shifting, they both appear to represent, at the most fundamental level, what Ross and Ross (1959) refer to as 'disturbance'. Through their ethnographic work in Africa between 1910 and the early 1950s they heard elders describe foreign intervention as 'disturbance'. This word is very simple but effective in illustrating how organic and local processes were disrupted in favour of the colonial and the missionary. The term is also effective because it suggests that the original processes (those impacted by the foreign presence) were the natural progression, the rightful cultural paths determined by indigenous populations. 'Disturbance' places value on the original state over the intervention and for that reason it seems especially powerful. Although he does not use the same language, Taiwo (2010) describes the disturbance as preventing populations from creating their own relationships with critical social, political, and cultural institutions. It is this foreign mediation and the violence of 'disturbance'

between populations and foreign institutions that truly bind, in the most basic sense, the structures of missionary and colonial experience.

Osterhammel (2005) describes colonialism as the external manipulation of a country's organization and desires based on a foreign agenda as well as the development of a cultural hierarchy privileging the colonizer based on difference. He follows, however, that these processes demand a cultural narrative that justifies and explains the relationship or the 'disturbance' (Ross and Ross, 1959). This is where one begins to see the early value of missionary work within a colonial framework. Regardless of whether missionaries themselves understood or articulated their work or their 'calling' as colonial or as embedded in colonial power structures, the missionary rhetoric and zeal provided a very powerful narrative that enabled and legitimized further colonial domination. Missionaries, in some cases, pre-dated the formal colonial presence and in some cases followed. Their positioning likely ranged from blazing trails for related narratives of 'progress' and tools of domination to indirectly supporting colonialism through established (though maybe not always explicit) power dynamics, privileging the culture and religion of the missionary.

As discussed previously, there were missionary figures who opposed notions of formal 'colonization' (Thorne, 1999) but their very presence systemically reproduced problematic power dynamics. As Osterhammel (2005) points out, missionaries were often also involved in colonial rule through their involvement with the building of hospitals and schools, both of which displaced traditional sources of knowledge and medicine. More explicitly, Rutherford (2002) claims there to be a direct relationship between colonial

relationships and ideas of salvation. In missions to the Canadian North, which were meant to focus on spiritual salvation, the 'civilizing' function of the mission is often highlighted. Rutherford also introduces missionary reports that describe spaces of missions existing on far reaches of 'empire'. Residential schools were constructed, by church-state partnerships (slowly the federal government replaced colonial powers in these processes), in order to replace traditional cultural practices with 'British' and 'Canadian' culture. Therefore, in this example, not unlike missionary experience around the world, missionaries were directly involved in the colonization of the Canadian north. Rutherford names the church and the state to the 'two arms of colonialism'.

Missionary Influence

In 1893, Rev. W. R. Harris Published his *History of the Early Missions in Western Canada*. He held that, "Chateaubriand's assertion that man, 'without religion, was the most dangerous animal that walked the earth' found its verification in almost every savage that roamed the American continent" (p.17). This quote illustrates both the institutional discourse around indigenous populations during missionary expansion as well as an implicit interest of issues control and containment. The quote also dehumanizes First Nations persons and positions them as threatening to those 'with religion'. Interest appears to lie in neutralizing the threat rather than initiating any form of spiritual 'salvation'. After Champlain's first visit to what would become Canada, which occurred in 1607, he asked that missionaries accompany him to Canada to "bear the message of the gospel to the roving hordes that filled the forests" (p.23). The Pope eventually granted this request. In 1615, three Franciscan priests traveled with Champlain to North America.

The experience was described as follows, “never did men endure a ruder or more severe apprenticeship” (p. 23).

One can't help but connect issues of control to Champlain's request and question his motivation in securing missionaries. Champlain clearly understood the critical needed to create relationships and in some cases share resources with the First Nations people. It is interesting that he saw missionary activity as being beneficial to the success of the future exploration. If there is any question about the potential for early missionary engagement to contribute to colonialism or larger instruments of domination, beyond also supporting colonization, Ballard (2008) argues that early missionary work was very much embedded in structures of slavery. In 1444 Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal dispatched his ships down the western coast of Africa flying the flags of Christianity, planting crosses and baptizing African people. They returned with over 200 enslaved people. Ballard adds that Prince Henry personally attended their sale and donated a portion to the church. As the Christian missionaries became increasingly committed to 'easing the suffering' of indigenous North and South American populations the demand for African slaves was further cultivated. This demonstrates the contradictions within the model and its construction in time as later models of missionary involvement actually engaged in fierce protest against the colonial slave trade (Thorne, 2002).

The Missionary Project as Resistance and Domination

From a historical missionary perspective, Thorne (1999) notes that theologians tend to identify spiritual motivation as being the primary interest of foreign missions. She argues that imperial missionary influence is explained away as being a natural and

unintended product of contact. De Gruchy (2000) is an example of this position as he describes African missionaries as 'men and women of their time' who lacked the cultural knowledge to recognize indigenous practice. He argues that most missionaries were firmly committed to improving the living conditions of African populations and their relationships with imperial expansion were very ambiguous. This, again, suggests a focus on intention in differentiating between missionary and colonial practice.

Thorne (1999) further states that many theologians would propose that missionaries often worked against imperialist colonial agendas, based on their participation in protests against slavery, criticism of colonial practices as well as engagement far beyond the borders of the 'empire'. Although Thorne notes that it is especially problematic to make generalizations around missionary experiences due to diversity in denomination, location, culture and personality, she says that the opposition between some missionary and colonial projects is said to have also provided spaces of resistance for colonized populations.

Thorne (1999) herself finds these arguments troubling and it is her position that seems to have more currency, in terms of the cultural, social and political impacts of colonial and missionary influence. Thorne identifies two reasons for considering the influence of these models together. First, for those critical of colonial practice the missionary agenda is never completely disconnected from colonial ambition and she points out that some missionaries characterized themselves as 'colonizers of consciousness'. Their presence was always a social and cultural intervention and therefore an act of violence, sometimes understood as colonialism's 'first line' whether

this was intentional or not. Scott (2005), similarly speaks to the blurring between cultivating the Christian project of salvation and the social and political agenda of creating a 'civilized' subject in missionary work. Whether missionaries understood or ignored the broader implications of intervention, continuing to frame missionary experience as a singularly ecclesiastic undertaking now feels short sighted.

Second, for those missionaries who did fully support the broader colonial structure, missionary engagement was argued to be a strategic practice in securing populations. Ironically, Thorne (1999) says that most colonial powers were more successful in convincing communities of their racial and spiritual supremacy at home than abroad. She highlights an expansion in missionary interest from a purely foreign telescopic philanthropy to a more social imperial philanthropy at home, engendering a new form of domestic influence over the masses. Thorne uses the following quote from Jemima Thompson, an evangelical Victorian pamphleteer, on missions, "the pulpit, the platform, and the press are continually bringing the subject before us" (p. 6). Therefore, as the author argues, missionary engagement laid the groundwork at home and abroad to legitimize and propel the colonization of lands and people around the world. Thorne concludes that missionary service, at the very least, provided an 'ethical language' for continued colonial domination.

Although these systems are sometimes understood as distinct and perhaps the individuals working within them may have intentions that are very much in conflict, the larger systems of power cannot be ignored. Mbembe's (2001) inclusive description of colonialism is very useful in teasing out how missionary intervention plays into colonial

affairs. His conceptualization includes three potentially overlapping forms of violence: founding violence that recognizes the colonial power as 'sole power' with no understanding of the indigenous community or culture; the creation of languages and structures necessary to legitimize founding violence and translate that power into authority; and, violence that ensures and reproduces colonial power through the ritualization of images and ideas of domination. The use of religious missionary narratives structured enduring notions of cultural superiority that (knowingly and unknowingly) supported and extended justifications for colonialism.

Missionary Ambiguities in a Canadian Context

Rutherford (2002) profiled an excerpt from a letter a young female missionary was given from the Church Missionary Society before embarking on her mission in northern British Columbia. In it she was warned "as you go forth to grapple with much indifference, with gross superstition, which will shock your whole soul" (p.28). The words colonialism and missionaries conjure up images of foreign, 'exotic' and even tropical locales. However, Canada is an interesting case to briefly consider as it was on both the sending and receiving end of missions as a European colony.

What is now recognized as Canada roughly existed as British and French colonies during the colonial period. The act of confederation united three British North American colonies and, in time, expanded to ten provinces and three territories. Through the British North American Act, the Statute of Westminster and the Canada Act, Canada has legally become independent but the British Monarch remains as head of state. Therefore, Canada was a colonized region deploying foreign missionaries. In their introduction to *Canadian*

Missionaries, Austin and Scott (2005) state that Canada (although not Canada alone) is positioned in a very interesting manner due to its history of being both 'mission-sending' as well as 'mission-receiving'. Adding to the complexity of Canada's missionary landscape is the fact that the missions were active in two languages and two cultures (French and English although they would have interacted with indigenous cultures and languages as well) and two major religions (Catholic and Protestant although there were also many Anglican missions). Canada contributed heavily to the missionary interventions. For its size and population Canada supported more Christian missions than any other country in the world (Brouwer, 1990; Austin & Scott, 2005). For Canada in the 1880s, Austin and Scott claim that missionary work was *the* national foreign policy. Brouwer (1990) argues that Canada understood missionary work and the 'salvation of others' to be a 'shared responsibility' with its own colonial power.

Canada is a good example of the diversity and ambiguity in colonial and missionary structures. What would eventually become Canadian territory was colonized by multiple countries, experienced colonial violence and the indigenous populations suffered tremendously. Yet while colonial powers and missionaries were intervening and implementing assimilation policies such as residential schools (By 1931 Scott [2005] says there were 44 Roman Catholic schools, 21 Anglican, 13 United, 2 Presbyterian schools) other 'Canadian' missionaries were looking beyond Canadian borders. Canada's own citizens considered the north to be a racially homogenous 'heathen land' in need of salvation (Rutherford, 2002). By engaging in foreign and domestic missions colonial subjects reproduced cultural oppression, (directly or indirectly) supported the wider

colonial projects of the colonial power, all the while fighting for increased independence from the British. The multiple, overlapping, ambiguous and contradictory experiences of missionary influence and colonialism must be considered to avoid homogenization of experience. The range of colonial and missionary experience creates a challenge, in terms of theorizing, but speaks to the rich complexity of power structures to successfully emerge and exist in diverse environments, engage and connect with local structures and reproduce subtle, overt, visible and less visible systems of domination and control.

Missionary Impact ‘At Home’

Thorne (1999) flipped explorations of missions to consider their lasting impacts on cultural practices ‘at home’. The violence of missionary engagement on foreign soil cannot be overlooked, nor is it any less important than how such activity affected ‘mission sending’ nations. There are, however, two very important and lasting parallels between missionary practice and later discussions of international development that need to be highlighted. The first looks at the influence of missions in shaping issues of gender and care. The second points to the power of organizational communications in framing (if not branding) populations and the subsequent cultural consequences.

Gender and Mission

No discussion of missionary work is complete without a consideration of the role of gender in shaping its practice. In Victorian England the project of philanthropy became increasingly involved with foreign missionary work. Therefore the role of women expanded considerably with regards to missionary service (Williams, 2002). Some saw this as a natural extension of the gendered nature of women’s work and an ethic of care.

However, philanthropic work also provided access to national, social and political institutions. The 'domestic' ideology that now included issues of charity and philanthropy allowed for linkages to wider socio-political issues in the lives of women, mostly middle to upper class women.

Tension did exist within the Victorian era around the 'appropriate' philanthropic activity for women and conflict was also developing as women became active in foreign missions and challenged the long established authority of male doctors, preachers, politicians and journalists. Williams (2002) notes that women's philanthropic activity was at times threatening to traditional notions of gender relations, class relations and patriarchal structures of authority. Colonial and missionary spaces provided a place for the re-consideration of the role of women but in many ways it remained rooted in discourses of care and domesticity. Therefore, "domesticity and maternalism were not always limiting ideologies for women; rather, they could be used as deliberate strategic identities to extend women's influence" (Rutherford, 2002, p 15). Thorne (1999) adds that the shift from missionary practices focused exclusively on traditional religious themes to a more 'social gospel' addressing the health and wellbeing also afforded women increased opportunity in colonized spaces.

Logics of 'care' and 'motherhood' helped to navigate the public sphere and find places to insert self, both at home and abroad. Brouwer (1990) describes foreign missions as providing women a paradoxical "pattern of opportunities and constraints" (p.9). Although it was difficult for women to independently engage in missionary service they were able to participate with partners, male family members and in some case very short-

lived marriages were 'arranged' so that women could gain access to missionary and colonial spaces. The socio-political connections between the gendered nature of 'care', missionary experiences articulated as 'care' and the potentially expanded opportunity for women shaped the field of missionary work to be a very gendered space. Missionary service and culture became a space that expanded the scope of women's work in a formal social and political context.

Just as Thorne (1999) argued missions, at times, provided a space of resistance against colonial power structures, they also provided a space of resistance against patriarchal power structures 'at home'. This trend continues today as female development workers often feel they are considered 'honorary men' (Heron, 2007). Issues of care, in the case of missions especially, afforded North American and European females increased agency (though often at the expense of women in mission receiving cultures). This is an interesting example of missions as a system of domination as well as a space of resistance although this balance was not distributed equally. For each woman engaged in missionary work, there would likely have been communities of local women whose traditional knowledge and beliefs were being displaced and disrupted. These connections between gender, care and subjectivity will be revisited in later chapters.

The Communicative Power of the Missionary Machine

Speaking from an African perspective, Taiwo (2010) describes the first wave of missionaries as being interested in an 'equal but different' model of solidarity that colonizers and administrators were not as egalitarian as the early missionaries in their relationships with indigenous population. Taiwo also believes that the later waves of

missionaries were less inclined to see African populations as being part of the human race. It is very possible that this could be due, in part, to the later missionaries having been subject to sensational missionary and colonial propaganda that would not really have been accessible to early missionaries. Pekenham (1992) established that missionary organizations operated very effective public relations and communications machines as their very existence depended on public support for their initiatives. Thorne (1999) also notes a shift in missionary attitudes that occurred around and during the 'Scramble for Africa'. She argues that as regions were carved up and distributed to colonial agencies, the language and discourse around colonial interest moved from creating markets to controlling labour. As this happened Thorne further notes the heroic missionary depicted in popular culture was re-articulated as explorer and conqueror rather than savior. Here, once again, we see missionary culture contributing to colonial rule, the colonized are being framed as a force to be controlled and contained rather than being in need of salvation. This shift allows for and reproduces power dynamics contributing to the legitimization of increased control.

To provide some context for the type of missionary reporting that existed and was circulated during the late 1800s, here are some quotes from *History of the Early Missions in Western Canada*, written by Rev. W.R. Harris (1893). He enthusiastically describes the "heroism and self- denial of the priests of the Catholic Church" (p. 9) against a "fierce and crafty race of men" (p. 9) that practice "senseless ignorance and brutal customs" (p. 11). First Nations populations are defined by "the insatiable and loathsome cruelty, the ignorance and hideous superstition, that overshadowed the land and its people were

calculated to awe the stoutest heart that dared to redeem them” (p. 11), as well as an “inhuman hardheartedness (that) was unparalleled in the history of our fallen humanity” (12). Harris further praised parish or pastoral charge priests asking, “what manner of men were they who conceived, and under accumulated hardships, in a measure bore into effect the magnificent resolve of Christianizing these half humanized hordes” (p.18).

In comparison to indigenous populations, early missionaries were repeatedly described as being noble, honourable, cultured, from respected families and scholars educated at prestigious schools. Pre-dating modern communications technologies, mission reporting and missionary preaching acted as the primary point of contact with foreign cultures for the general population (Brouwer, 1990). Looking back to the framing of First Nations people from Rev. Harris provides a powerful sample of the rhetoric used to enable, justify and rally public support for interventions. Discourses of horror and fascination emerged around colonial experiences that were very much disconnected from the day-to-day and lived experience of mission culture (Rutherford, 2002).

The Mythologizing of Populations

Thorne (1999) describes the tremendous communication networks active in circulating images and tales of missionary experience. Relying on such propaganda for public support (volunteers, fundraising and expedition finances), missionary societies were often involved in many of the following: publishing annual reports in leading journals; self publishing monthly and quarterly periodicals (the author notes that these were often tailored to specific populations and demographics); widespread pamphletting; stories for children and adventure stories for youth; and, providing material for sermons

Sunday schools, and church sales. Thorne suggests that in terms of technology, missionary organizations were some of the first bodies to incorporate 'magic lanterns' (projection devices) into presentations, dispatch caravans filled with propaganda and artifacts into rural areas and install graphic missionary collection boxes in churches and community buildings. The power and currency of the missionary text was tremendous in part because missionary organization were at times very critical of colonial rule and appeared to have little material interest in colonized lands and materials (Thorne, 1999). Their word was, literally, gospel and the cultural impact of the communications networks they utilized in branding populations were rich in breadth and deeply penetrated communities throughout mission sending nations and beyond.

Controlling the discourse around colonized populations, particularly those on the African continent, gave the missionary a great deal of power. Rutherford (2002) describes the binary that emerged of colonizer as a "civilized, white, Christian whereas Aboriginal peoples were said to be uncivilized, dark and heathen" (p. 29). So entrenched were these ideas that when missionary's lived experience overlapped with the lived experience of colonized populations (through routine, interest and practice) and did not live up to the much anticipated 'exotic' description in missionary texts, it has been suggested in Rutherford that some missionaries fabricated tales and reporting in order to live up to colonial expectation in the metropole. A gentle and eventually more pervasive mythology (Barthes, 2009) emerged around the missionary experience, indigenous populations and cultural practices. The myth served missionary, as well as wider colonial, interests and became key in the reproduction of knowledge of populations around the world based on

power and difference. The cultural and physical violence of missionary intervention cannot be stressed enough. What needs to be highlighted here, for the purpose of this research, is the role of expansive communications systems in contributing to the violence. The power of the missionary communications networks (and their intersection with colonial structures) carried strategic propaganda into churches, community halls, schools and homes in Europe, Australia and North America (not necessarily isolated to these spaces). This heavily contributed to the sensational making and imagining of 'colonial' spaces (also based on power and difference) that have continued to plague nations for centuries.

Colonialism

Osterhammel (2005) in the opening of his text describes colonialism as lacking anything close to uniformity saying that colonization is a phenomenon of 'colossal vagueness'. Experiences of colonization are very subjective based on local context, individual interpretation of colonial rule and differing imperial agendas. The 'Scramble for Africa' or the 'Partition of Africa' carved up the continent (with the exception of the few states that remained independent) based on the agendas of Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Portugal, Spain and Italy. Osterhammel points to the British who tended to be more in favour of indirect rule, and limited involvement of traditional institutions and indigenous leadership within the colony. Their French counterparts placed more emphasis on strict assimilation policies and direct rule. He argues that Belgian colonial leaders had more paternal relationships and that the Portuguese actually had very little concern around issues of race. He further states that between 1500 and 1920 most of the world's

surface came under European rule but because the circumstances were so very impacted by the local, colonialism appeared more as a “patchwork quilt of ad hoc adaptation to particular circumstances” (p.4). Osterhammel uses economist Arthur Girault to demonstrate that just after World War 1, roughly half of the world’s surface and 2/5s of the population, 600 million people, were living under colonial rule. He concludes that colonialism is “extremely difficult to place in the history of thought” (p. 107) due to its plurality, fluidity and resilience.

Functions and Resistance

Although practices and means of colonialism varied greatly, the function and the ends of colonialism were not so dissimilar. Three prominent functions of colonialism were said to be 1) access to markets for domestic products 2) a source of raw material for industrialized economies 3) a supply of cheap (if not forced) labour (MacQueen, 2007). Together, these conditions and resources secured position and power for the colonial power, as well as domination over the colonial subject. The economic interests of colonial powers coordinated and necessitated the need for further control and order. Grand physical and social infrastructure were implemented, agrarian regions were forced into cropping specific produce, schools, churches and hospitals emerged based on European models, communications and transportations systems put in place and finally financial institutions branched out to colonial spaces in order to serve the colonial administrators. The social, spiritual, physical, economic, psychological and cultural worlds of colonial subjects were exploited to the advantage of metropolitan governments and economies.

Having said that, it must also be remarked that power is negotiated. Many European historians have suggested that there was actually very little resistance to colonial rule until after the Second World War when populations of educated elite returned from foreign countries and organize against colonial rule.

Boahen (1987) disagrees on two points. He argues that there was, in fact, immediate resistance to colonial rule and it developed across societal spectrums, not restricted to the educated elite. Boahen states the impact of colonialism on Africa has been a very controversial field of inquiry. He describes several European and Eurocentric historians (L.H Gann, P. Duignan, Margery Perham, P.C. Lloyd, D.K. Fieldhouse) as measuring the positive and negative dimensions of colonization but concluding that the positives far outweighed the negatives. To illustrate some of these discussions, what follows is a list of but a few debated impacts of colonial intervention: increased opportunity for peace and political stability; the identification and founding of independent and 'modern' states; constructions of community and patriotism around the state; as well as, the emergence of protective structures and professional armies. Conversely, Boahen notes that other historians, mainly black African and Marxist scholars (Walter Rodney, T.B. Kabwegyere) have firmly stated that there were no local lasting benefits resulting from colonial systems of power and the legacies of colonialism continue and are still very much alive in 'postcolonial' performances of power and domination around the world.

Addressing the supposed 'positive' impacts proposed above by some colonial scholars it has been argued back by Boahen (1987) that prior to colonial intervention

African communities did not live in constant states of war but were often subject to increased violence during and after direct colonial rule. Second, the creation of the 'modern' state was not necessarily positive experience as the arbitrary and illogical manner with which the boundaries of African states were drawn led to serious boundary disputes and disproportionate access to previously shared resources. Third, nationalism, Boahen notes, was an 'accidental by-product' of African partition. He describes colonial nationalism as a negative and manipulated construct often exploited by foreign and corrupt leaders for personal gain. Finally, the organization of (sometimes) unchecked military and policing agencies under imperial bodies combined with the politics of decolonization have created great instability and violence.

Lasting Impacts

At the end of the day, colonialism delayed and disrupted organic political, social, cultural and economic growth. The sense of loss around destiny and self-determination is something that can never be fully accounted for or articulated. Boahen (1987) concludes that considering the broad and far reaching impacts of colonialism is a complex task. He acknowledges that colonialism did, perhaps, have positive impacts on the African population but that they were often 'accidental' and 'indirect'. He says the economy grew under colonialism but that it was the colonial powers that truly benefited. Education systems were put in place for colonized populations but Boahen notes that they were structured to educate colonized subjects within a colonial context and did not come close to meeting the very real needs of the local populations. He cautions that the ambiguities of colonialism be carefully considered in understanding the full and far reaching impacts

of colonial rule. Some might consider him generous in his discussion but he is very much in agreement that the colonial era is what has produced cultures of underdevelopment (which is problematic as it suggests there is a development standard) and in the end created humiliation for the people of, in his example, Africa. He also says that the legacies of colonialism continue to be bound up and played out in the geopolitics of the continent today.

This exploitation made the rapid development of the 'north' possible as resources were funneled out of colonial spaces. Nederveen Pieterse (2001) discusses the economics of colonialism as existing first around chartered and trading companies, the development of plantations and mining sites. These relationships with foreign economies transformed into trusteeships in which the colonial power took control over indigenous financial institutions. Colonizers claimed that this would be of much benefit to native economies but of course the colonial powers were quick to direct resources and materials back to their homelands. Later periods of colonialism were argued to be working in the interests of the future wellbeing of colonial economies and laying the ground work for emerging industry, but Pieterse problematizes this as many colonial powers destroyed local economies and intentionally interfered with attempts for self-directed 'development'.

The ambiguity and plurality around the relationships between colonialism and missionary intervention is immense, therefore identifying the break or transition to states of postcolony is equally problematic. If formal decolonization is considered the turning point it must be marked that "the postcolonial world has retained forms of manipulation, exploitation and cultural expropriation, even if colonialism itself belongs to the past"

(Osterhammel, 2005, p. 119). Therefore through postcoloniality the violence of colonial rule is continually re-invoked and reproduced through the next generations of foreign intervention.

Postcolonialism

Politically and culturally, different forms and performances of power and domination fall in and out of popularity. As attitudes toward empire and foreign control changed so did their appearance. Osterhammel (2005) states that apparatuses of power had to become 'less overt'. MacQueen (2007) describes power structures as having the ability to 'shape shift' in order to readapt to changing cultural sensibilities. As attitudes toward the colonial presence became more resistant, the risk began to outweigh the 'reward'. The subsequent processes around official decolonization occurred removing formal state sanctioned institutional instruments of control leaving behind deeply entrenched power relations that were taken up by new methods of control and containment.

Hart (2008) invokes the field of development and asks "is decolonization really recolonization under a new phase of empire?...is this an age of neocolonialism not postcolonialism" (p.292). The term 'neo' rather than 'post' colonialism seems to be selected to suggest renewed energy and commitment to unequal power relations in place of the traditional historical practices from previous eras. The language of postcolonialism and neocolonialism maybe indeed be contested but it would be negligent to ignore the fact that any new structure (neocolonialism) is based on and a response to a collective memory and experience of the past. Therefore to assume that the term 'postcolonial' is

not inclusive of the most recent engagement of colonial politics is shortsighted although neocolonialism maybe the more 'active' postcolonialism. Therefore, the language of postcolonialism is used here as inclusive of neocolonialism.

This discussion has articulated missionary engagement and colonization as knowing and unknowing structures and performances of power and domination. These systems can be revealed by exploring the political economy of foreign 'disturbances' but they can also be concealed within the rhetoric of 'assistance' and 'development'. The ability to distort ideological interests with 'gifts' remains an enduring theme in foreign exchanges. Similarly, international development practices are often situated as being postcolonial legacies, concealing power relations within the rhetoric of poverty, emergency, response and responsibility. The reproduction of the center, the periphery and the 'other' in relation to status connects practices such as philanthropy, missionary intervention, colonialism and development over time and space. This demonstrates how power is performed and reproduced in context and in time (Kothari, 2009). The following discussion will explore the politics of giving specific to international development practices.

International Development

Hewa and Hove (1997) explain that philanthropy exists for the benefit of the community and to engage in practices of 'development'. The gift, in a development context, includes transfers of resources through bi-lateral (state to state) and multi-lateral arrangements, donations from international and faith-based organizations, project-based assistance from wealthy donors and private sector partnerships. Discussions of the gift

will look at the rise of the current development paradigm, illustrate the development debate and finally, suggest that the post-World War II paradigm of development is a model in crisis.

Rise of the 'Development' Paradigm

Nederveen Pieterse (2001) describes development theory as being a reaction to crisis, originating during the industrial revolution. As standards of living shifted dramatically and populations became increasingly urbanized diverse social problems emerged and required attention. Pieterse might recognize general development theory as emerging during the 19th century but acknowledges that most development scholars, himself included, position the current paradigm of international development as having emerged after the Second World War (being very much the offspring of colonial sensibilities). Incidentally, Rist (2008) faults much development literature for ignoring ancient historical practices prior to African colonization that he believes are very much connected to current development paradigms. He specifically references colonization during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance that utilized both religious evangelicalism and changing attitudes toward labour to mark 'difference' and justify intervention.

Currently, the term 'international development' is inclusive of bi-lateral (country-country) assistance, multilateral organizations and non-governmental organizations and private sector agencies active in the delivery of services and distribution of goods around the world. As in the work of Kapoor (2008), the term development will be used as shorthand for the dominant development discourse embedded in hegemonic institutional practices. Having moved through varying degrees (and overlapping stages) of missionary

influence, colonialism and decolonization the power structures and relationships arising out of development models were actually set in motion a very long time ago. The discourse of development and the 'gifts' that it delivers, like the many Western interventions before, have been producing and re-producing the 'recipients' for centuries.

Post-WWII Paradigm of Development

Focusing on the current model of development, Escobar (1995) describes the international development paradigm as being officially launched by the American President, Harry Truman, in 1949 when he introduced his doctrine for a 'fair deal'. He insisted that because so many people around the world are living "in conditions approaching misery, their food is inadequate, they are victims of disease...[and] their economic life is primitive and stagnant"(p. 3), the US, with their wealth of technical expertise should assist vulnerable populations to understand and embrace a 'better' life.

Truman was not alone in his western ethnocentric view of 'progress' and 'development'. The United Nations Department of Social and Economic Affairs declared that traditional institutions and cultural practices must be abandoned in order to make room for 'progress' in countries around the world. Escobar quotes a UN report declaring, "ancient philosophies have to be scrapped, old social institutions have to disintegrate bonds of cast, creed and race have to burst, and large numbers of people who cannot keep up with progress have to have their expectations of a comfortable life frustrated" (Escobar, 1995, p.4). The UN echoed the American sentiment that reasons for 'underdevelopment,' were usually of a population's own doing. Modernization theory made dichotomies between 'traditional' and 'modernized' nations so entrenched that

spaces and places were heavily stigmatized based on narrow typologies. The discourse of international development promised to 'reach down' and lift populations into 'modern' and 'civilized' communities and cultures by implementing Western science, technology and reason, at the expense of local and indigenous tradition. The professionalization and institutionalization of development practices were so powerful that they became a certainty, dominating the social imaginations of people all over the world.

Changing Conceptualizations of Aid, Assistance and Development

Moyo (2009) identifies the evolution of aid as existing in several distinct stages. Bretton Woods in the 1940s structured the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the International Trade Organization to safeguard vulnerable economies. Systems and institutions were organized to facilitate international flow of capital and resources, regulate and monitor trade and exchange, and provide a structure for collaborative responses. This was followed up with the Marshall Plan, an American response to Post-WWII reconstruction in Europe that directed \$13 billion over five years to Western Europe. This initiative is credited with demonstrating aid's general effectiveness in restoring stability and economic success. The outpouring of support, in the form of aid, was also linked to geopolitical interest, particularly between former colonial relationships and cold war allies. The 1960s saw aid act as a means to physical infrastructure and industrialization in the wake of decolonization. The 1970s focused on poverty reduction, food security and agriculture. The 1980s emphasized the need for stability, broad Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) and institutional reform. The 1990s reconsidered issues of governance, leadership, corruption and signs of severe donor fatigue

emerged. Moyo claims that aid peaked in 1992. It is not by accident that the next decade of development trends centered on 'glamour aid'. Attempting to, perhaps, re-engage populations, the landscape of international development was marked with Hollywood photographers, celebrity donors, famous faces in the field and private sector interest in aid.

Just as the areas of concentration changed over time, so did the economic and theoretical understandings of power, relationships and 'development' that accompanied practices of aid. Although the models cannot be represented as completely isolated, fixed, or linear historical stages, the following discussion demonstrates the changing nature of development theory. Early development models are often characterized as modernization paradigms (Rist, 2008). Rosenstein-Rodan advocated for a 'big push' to move the 'developing' countries into 'first world' status in the 1940s. Walt Rostow was also critical to these early constructions of aid. In the 1950s and the early 1960s he proposed that there were only five categories of society: the traditional society; society experiencing the pre-conditions for 'take-off'; the actual take-off; the maturation process; and, the age of mass- consumption and consumer culture. This set up a very dehistoricized, decontextualized and linear model of development, assuming that with the necessary resources and support all traditional societies could (and would) 'modernize' to the standards of 'western' and 'northern' societies. Not only does this model ignore the plurality and contradictions of both the 'traditional' and the 'modern' spaces but it erects a binary based on a benchmark of North American and European ideas of society and culture. Although this approach officially fell out of favour with most development

practitioners, Rist argues that the basic tenets are still very much alive and underpin many models thought to correct theories of modernization.

By the late 1960s much critique around modernization theory was emerging. Made problematic were notions of a uniform historical trajectory along which all 'developed' nations traveled and all 'underdeveloped' were expected to travel. Dependency theory suggested that the power dynamic between the North and the South in development projects was instrumental in dominating and further oppressing populations (Escobar, 1995). This school of thought was produced by North American Marxist and Latin American scholars and activists. It is also argued to have heavily influenced the development of world systems theory (Nederveen Pieterse, 2008). This work was supported by those who were critical of American foreign policy and those who defined themselves as 'Third Worldists': structures of exploitation were identified and interrogated; the local context, lived experience and day to day struggles of communities were given priority; global systems, interconnections and colonial relationships were criticized and the role of the state took priority over the market, in terms of response (Rist, 2008).

Moving into the 1970s theories around participatory and alternative development were receiving much attention, calling for a redefinition of development methods, practices and goals (Nederveen Pieterse, 1998). This is not to say that elements and spectrums of participation in development planning did not occur earlier but the rhetoric and theory of participatory planning gained popularity and institutional favour at this point. Issues of agency, collaboration and voice took center stage as development

organizations identified 'human development' as a development measure over GDP. As the general culture of development shifted to appreciate these concerns the term 'alternative', however, lost its relevance as the original measure of development the category was constructed against has disappeared. 'Alternative' development became the dominant model and standard practice. After the 1970s and 1980s, the language became somewhat meaningless. The 1980s witnessed a ferocious return to economics with the emergence of neoliberalism. Unlike the early modernization theory, neoliberalism did not identify the global south as a 'special case'. Nederveen Pieterse argues that this ideology proposed the deregulation and privatization of the market and economic logic would strengthen struggling economies (structural adjustment programs are a good example of these policies).

Moving to Post-Development

The 1990s witnessed the rise of both post-development theory as well as a move to consider development as discourse. Post-development theory stands out from other critical theory in that it "pronounces the demise of development and urges for 'alternatives to development' rather than alternative development" (Matthews, 2004, p.373). Scholars assert that after decades of engagement, the development project has failed to improve the lives of those it seeks to serve. This paradigm of thought around the field of development does not suggest that poor design and implementation of development projects need to be addressed or that the model has to evolve. Post-development scholars entirely reject the assumptions around imposed measures and fixed ideas of development and wellbeing.

The more recent incarnations of post-WWII development, alternative development, human development, sustainable development and democratic development, regardless of the design and the rhetoric remain problematic in post-development. Matthews (2001) points out that these scholars are not fundamentally opposed to change, in general, but expect change to be an organic cultural process or product. Arturo Escobar (1995, 1999) is a post-development scholar and his work was critical in launching an understanding of development as a discursive practice. By doing this he began to make visible the systems and structures that have ensured the political, economic, sociological and cultural dominance over the 'third world'.

Once scholars and practitioners begin to recognize apparatuses of power and the 'making' of the 'third world', Escobar (1995, 1990) sees the potential for creative, grass roots and autonomous practices that allow for the renegotiation of local, regional, gendered, classed, racialized identities. He offers no suggestions for scripted 'grand plans' as he finds them problematic but does recommend that strategies should be organized around local cultural identities (as plural and shifting) with an examination of economic needs and opportunities that does not hinge on market and profit. The field of post-development is not without its critics. Ziai (2004) finds the work to be destructive rather than constructive in that it calls for total rejection of 'development' but is vague on potential alternatives. Ironically, Ziai feels that Foucault would fault Escobar's total rejection of development for essentializing the practice and isolating *a* truth (development as always oppressive). Escobar, in this sense has employed a tremendously broad metanarrative, much like the ones he rejects in development scholarship.

The Development Debate

William Easterly suggests that “the two tragedies of the world’s poor are, one that it costs so little to affect real and sustainable change and two, that so much money is being spent with so little to show for it” (2007, p. 2). This appears to be the point of intersection for many practitioners and researchers working in the field of development (Sachs, 2005; Moyo, 2009; Kapoor, 2008; Escobar, 1995, 1999). There tends to be significant agreement that the current post- World War II development paradigm is incredibly powerful and endowed with vast resources but that it is also not creating real, sustainable and just changes in the lives of people who are understood to need it the most.

For decades these power relationships around aid and development remained unchallenged. They were so entrenched in the cultural, social and economic structures, systems and imaginations of Western countries that when Peter Bauer, as early as 1972, launched severe critiques of aid he was completely ignored and marginalized professionally (Moyo, 2009). He referred to it as a means of taxing the Western poor in favour of the elite population in postcolonial states. Today, the field of development appears to be approaching crisis. The following debate illustrates some of the issues and points of contention amongst researchers and scholars in the field of international development.

The work and writing of Jeffrey Sachs (2005) still falls very much into that traditional model of international development. Championing a linear construction of change, he says that the challenge faced by the current generation is to ensure that the ‘bottom billion’ is able to get a foot on the ladder of development. He doesn’t

acknowledge or account for any potentially destructive consequences of development, stating bluntly that 'colonialism is dead'. He does, however, recognize the complexity with issues of poor governance, the remnants of colonial rule, disease, drought and distance from world markets in many 'developing' regions but argues that although Africa's development (for example) is particularly challenging "it is still solvable with practical and proven technologies" (p. 208). He sees the solutions to Africa's 'underdevelopment' as the implementation of infrastructure and technology that has been successful in other regions (regardless of the incredible diversity, political, social and postcolonial influences he referenced). Sachs situates aid as being an investment rather than a hand out. He fully believes that a big economic push will break down poverty traps. Then, once populations have reached the bottom rung of the ladder of development the need for assistance will be greatly diminished.

Political Critique of the Development Project

The writing and activism of Moyo (2009), Kapoor (2008) and Escobar (1995) are all critical of traditional models of international development based on western assistance like the one championed by Jeffrey Sachs. Seeing varying degrees of postcoloniality in international development as a paradigm for 'change', they have problematized the idea of foreign assistance as 'development'. Kapoor writes that research in the field of international development tends to focus on either the effectiveness of, or the motivations behind, aid programs. This is an interesting entry point because Kapoor seems to find the motivations behind international development to be troubling, Moyo has taken issue with the efficacy of international development and Escobar seems to see the linkages between

motivation and effectiveness as entwined but sees absolutely no emancipatory potential in ideas of international development.

Ilan Kapoor, in his 2008 text, *The Postcolonial Politics of Development*, acknowledges that practitioners and researchers in the field of international development are often, though sometimes unknowingly, complicit in the neocolonial production of knowledge and cultural practices. He claims that institutional biases and political interests are sometimes masked by such noble gestures of 'giving' and 'development'. Kapoor criticizes international development (seems to be more directed to bi-lateral aid) as being an entire project based on prioritizing the construction of 'donor' rather than the needs of vulnerable populations. He uses a quote from the American President Richard Nixon, "let us remember that the main purpose of American aid is not to help other nations but to help ourselves" (p.85) to further his point.

Kapoor (2008) sees foreign assistance as an opportunity for countries to construct themselves as the 'good', the 'generous' and the 'humanitarian' nation, when in fact, they are experiencing both material and symbolic return on their 'investment'. Kapoor takes offense at how the latter is concealed in order to reproduce the hegemonic notion of aid as 'no strings attached gift'. Examples of the return on 'gift' include but are not limited to: the tying of aid to the purchase of goods and services from donor country; interest on loans; heavily conditioned loans; the privatization of domestic markets; and, military alignment. Bond (2006) uses the term 'phantom aid' to designate assistance that does not necessarily improve the lives of the recipients. Kapoor sees foreign assistance as an

ideological construction that is critical in the building and branding of reputation, identity and culture.

Kapoor (2008) notes that although all forms of assistance symbolize and are framed as 'gifts', the paradox of the gift is that it presents itself through a frame of generosity but has a tendency toward specific economic and symbolic gains. Therefore, Kapoor contends that foreign assistance should be categorized as 'grift' rather than 'gift'. He sees the element of 'grift' as creating profound limits to the emancipatory potential of international development. Kapoor wants practitioners and researchers to transcend this approach, as it privileges donor interests over recipients' needs. Therefore, it lacks sustainability and will continue to be ineffective as long as it exists to service the interests of donors by *appearing* to address the needs of recipient populations.

Economic Critique of Development Practices

Moyo (2009) also agrees that international development as a model for change (in the recipient country) is ineffective. In fact, she has written a very controversial text making this very point, *Dead Aid: Why Aid is Not Working and How There is a Better Way for Africa*. In the preface to her text, Moyo refers to her quest to find sustainable economic solutions for Africa's troubles. Although her arguments imply or allude to cultural oppression her focus is securing 'financing solutions'. She employs a very neo-liberal lens to issues of 'development', her problem simply being that aid is not showing results, it is dead. Moyo claims that over the last 50 years two trillion dollars (American) has been transferred from 'rich' countries to 'poor' with very little, if anything, to show for this transfer of funds and resources. The reason for the lack of economic development,

according to Moyo, can be understood as a combination of geographical, historical, cultural, tribal and institutional influences. She writes that while most African countries experience some or many of these factors to varying degrees, there is one thing they all have in common. They all depend on aid, aid is *the* problem. Moyo goes as far as to characterize aid as a 'humanitarian disaster'. She is certainly not alone in these suggestions, Vreeland (2008) says that International Monetary Fund (IMF) loans have directly caused a decline in growth in several regions. Escobar (1995) has also reported that development projects often cause situations to get worse rather than better.

Interestingly, Moyo (2009) noted that if aid were effective in contributing to sustainable economic growth, her book would not have been written. Therefore, she is opposed to the idea of ineffective foreign assistance but not the fundamental notion of foreign assistance. Moyo sees aid as an antiquated approach because it does not stimulate economic development. She claims that aid has the potential to create continuous flows of capital and resources that oppress local markets, create structural dependencies and lack internal accountability. For these reasons, in Moyo's mind, foreign aid will never empower widespread local development or have the potential to create just and lasting change.

Rejection of the Development Project

Although Kapoor (2008) problematized the motivations behind foreign assistance and Moyo (2009) highlighted the extreme ineffectiveness of internal development, Escobar (1995, 1999) entirely rejects international development as having *any* emancipatory potential. He positions aid and international development as being a

biopolitical intervention. Escobar, as noted, is situated in the post-development school seeking alternatives *to* development rather than alternatives forms *of* development. Not only is he opposed to the current post- World War II paradigm of development, more participatory and holistic approaches to aid are just as problematic. To explain his position, Escobar borrowed from the work of Michel Foucault. Foucault believed that biopower, as a political technology (biopolitics), was a way of managing and regulating populations. He felt that life itself had become an 'object of power' and that control over society extends beyond consciousness and ideology to include the biological and the body (Hardt and Negri, 2000).

In both the *History of Sexuality* (1978) and *Discipline and Punish* (1977) Foucault wrote that it used to be the sovereign's right to decide issues of life or death. Eventually this shifted toward the power to foster and invest in life. Interventions and regulatory controls (supervision over births, increase in clinics, tracking of mortality) manipulated the mechanics of life and body to produce a biopolitical coordination of the population. Although this innovative approach to population health might seem to have developed out of an ethic of care, Foucault is quick to remind that this development, by no accident, coincided with the momentum of capitalism. Closely tied to the prolonging of life and control over bodies was capitalism's voracious demand to staff the machines of production and industry, aligning populations with economic progress. Like Foucault (1977,1978), Escobar (1995,1999) argues that biopolitics aims to regulate, normalize and control populations, particularly because they are instrumental to capitalism.

Escobar's trouble with development discourse is, in part, its ability to construct and reproduce 'first' and 'third' world subjectivities that have dire consequences. He argues that development researchers and practitioners, together, have been attempting to make and re-make the 'third world' based on westernized and foreign models, expectations, benchmarks and assumptions for decades. Escobar contends that this process of domination replaced the traditional and visible forms of colonialism but is certainly no less destructive. He writes that modernization and development both become so important that populations describe themselves as, "selling our resources to the most convenient bidder, of degrading our human and physical human ecologies, of killing and torturing, of condemning our native populations to near extinction, so important that we began to think of ourselves as 'inferior' as 'underdeveloped' as 'ignorant' that we began to devalue our own cultures and decide to pledge allegiance to the banners of reason and faith; so important finally, that the realization of such 'development' clouded the awareness of the impossibility of fulfilling the promise that development itself seemed to be making" (1999, p. 331).

The above quote illustrates Escobar's (1999) reasons for invoking Bhabha (1994) and Said (1978). Said's work, *Orientalism*, shifted the spotlight to consider issues of representation and oppression. Escobar links Bhabha's description around the objectives of colonial discourse (frame colonized as 'degenerates' in order to justify domination) to the objectives of international development (to establish population as 'underdeveloped' in order to justify systems of regulation and administration). Escobar writes that development, like colonialism before it, relies on the perpetual recognition of difference,

inferiority and superiority. Therefore development, as a mode of representation, is situated as an inherently violent structure. Naturally, based on this logic, Escobar does not see any hope in the paradigm of international development, which is why he has positioned himself as a post-development scholar. Framing development as an oppressive and ethnocentric construction, Escobar sees this as being antiquated in that it violently ignores the multiple ideas, experiences and aspirations of cultures.

In line with Escobar, Memmi (2006) warns that constructs of 'help' are an illusion. Aid is linked to purchase from donors, partnerships and structured around unequal partnerships making power relations exploitative. He writes, "waiting for salvation from a colonial power, now a former colonial power, is as illusory as it is for women to expect to attain their liberation through male goodwill...International aid is a form of disguised begging, but begging does not cure poverty; on the contrary, it simply promotes irresponsibility" (p. 140). This is not to portray populations as having little or no means of resistance within dominant models of development. However, it is important to pull together critiques of development (even though they are at times competing and contradictory) to contribute to and perpetuate an ongoing dialogue around constructions of power within discourses of development.

Development in Crisis

As post-development and critical scholarship continue to gain momentum, critique is no longer restricted to academic and cultural theorists (Escobar, 1995; Hayter, 1971; Kapoor, 2008; Alhassan, 2009). Funding bodies and development practitioners are also asking serious questions around standard operating procedures. In 2007, a Canadian

Senate report was released stating that after 40 years of support to Sub-Saharan Africa, the Canadian International Development Association's (CIDA) \$12.4 billion investment had created no noticeable improvement in the economic wellbeing of the region (Standing Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 2007). Additionally, several texts have been authored, for some time, by aid officials criticizing development practices: *The Myth of Aid* (Hudson & Goulet, 1971), *Aid as Imperialism* (Hayter, 1971), *Aid as Obstacle* (Lappe, 1980), *Lords of Poverty* (Hancock, 1994), *Famine Crimes* (de Waal, 2009), *The Road to Hell* (Maren, 1997), *Masters of Illusion* (Caufield, 1997), *Give and Take* (Sogge, 2002), *White Man's Burden* (Easterly, 2008), and *The Aid Trap* (Duggan, 2009) to name a few.

The Nation's Investment

While the debate around the efficacy and cultural implications of foreign assistance continues to rage (Escobar, 1995; Sachs, 2006; Collier, 2007; Kapoor, 2008; Alhassan, 2009) the practice and process of aid remain tremendously valuable in facilitating a steady flow of commodities. Based on and extending Kapoor's (2008) findings, aid was approximately, a \$77.71 billion industry in 2004 (this is official aid excluding private foundations). He also says that roughly 43% of Canada's aid remains tied or dependent on the recipient purchasing goods and services from Canadian organizations and businesses. The proportion of dollars being directed to foreign assistance has made for an attractive investment opportunity, so much so that currently the field of 'giving' has become a highly competitive, densely populated and lucrative industrial environment for international development organizations (Cooly & Ron, 2002).

What has developed is a cultural context in which 'giving' has significant value in terms of economic, political and social implications- particularly in a northern/western nation. The symbolic and material rewards of 'development' are usually skewed to favour the donor. National and organizational interests are clearly at play as was discussed previously by Kapoor (2008). Resources and the flow of commodities represent a very strategic and lucrative dimension of aid but development's economic value exists beyond partnerships based on exchange. What must be highlighted is that charity and all that it encompasses is an industry. This year the Canada Revenue Agency has identified Canada as supporting 85,000 charities that employ almost one million people (Rennie, July 11, 2011).

National Identity

Not only is economic interest in the model pervasive, add to this the links between understandings of Canadian national identity based on notions of generosity and international assistance (Pratt, 1994). Practices of 'peacekeeping' and 'development' are very much tied to popular understanding of Canadian culture, which is a source of pride for many citizens (Heron, 2007). Additionally, a 2006 Angus Reid Survey for *MacLean's Magazine* polled people in 20 countries around the world and declared that globally, Canada is understood as a 'generous' nation. Approximately 70% of respondents reported Canada to be generous with aid programs. Finally, in September of 2010 the Charities Aid Foundation identified Canada as the third most generous place in the world (tied with Ireland after a tie between Australia and New Zealand) based on gifts of time and financial resources.

Internally and externally, Canada is understood to invest heavily in acts of development, foreign assistance and gift. There is remarkable social, political and cultural currency within the paradigm of development to accompany the great economic interest discussed previously. International development has become a very valuable source of cultural meaning as well as a strategic tool in global affairs. So, as government and non-government agencies begin to question the efficacy and ability of development to meet expectations they also have to weigh the potential for development to make economic partnerships, facilitate flows of commodities, support symbolic understandings of nation, employ aid professionals, secure organizational funding and aid government responses vulnerable. Direct and indirect development stakeholders represent an impressive number of people and the practice itself accounts for massive financial investment. The need to safeguard or protect 'development' seems obvious as Canada, for example, is heavily invested in the practice. Yet, reports and practitioner reviews continue to raise serious concerns. Therefore, traditional modes of development are situated at an interesting crossroads. There are industrial and cultural draws to and investment in the paradigm, yet serious questions are being asked around its ability to create meaningful change.

Conclusions

This chapter pulled together constructions of 'gift', particularly through an international context, that appear to conceal strategic, material and symbolic interests at home and abroad. Framed as existing to benefit another or 'other', understandings of charity, philanthropy (from chapter two) missionary engagement, colonialism and international development represent structures that have emerged to create bridges

between those with access to resources (based on western notions of capital) and those without. These systems are said to exist to facilitate the transfer of goods that will in some way improve the lived experience of the recipient but this is also where the more political and economic interests of the 'gift' are revealed. As systems become stigmatized (charity), fall out of favour or are recognized as oppressive (missionary engagement and colonialism) and are critiqued (international development) they seem to re-emerge based on the current social, political and economic climate.

One cannot say, with all certainty, that this particular string of structures is derived fully and completely from one another with clean and sharp boundaries or that it is a particularly linear trajectory. They do, however, represent a genealogy of power relations that identify center- periphery, donor- recipient, superior -inferior dichotomies. In doing this, a space of intervention is created and justified. Looking back to discussions of philanthropy, missionary engagement, colonialism and development, the spaces to intervene appear to expand and shrink in reaction to socio-political contexts. Their fluidity makes them especially powerful, as they are able to constantly re-invent themselves- remaining relevant and 'appropriate' within their particular context. This is why locating the development good model (to be described in next chapter) and similar fundraising projects in a larger historical process is critical because it makes visible patterns of engagement that reveal both interest and, potentially, exploitation.

Although the language and practices may change over time, the functions of these structures tend to be quite aligned serving individual, state and private purposes. These 'gifts' become mythologized and embedded in cultural practices, identities and

nationalism so much so that they are celebrated, fetishized and ritualized. Once they gain so much cultural power they become a critical source of meaning in the production of knowledge. The fact that the rhetoric and logic of 'gift' continues to be invoked demonstrates a lasting value and enduring function of the gift that cuts across time and space. The gift, within development contexts, provides a new space of intervention for political and capital interests. Previous incarnations and processes of the gift have grown problematic in the eyes of many but innovative collaborative models between corporate and NGO partners create new stories and mythology around international development practices.

Looking to the future in the field of development and foreign 'gifts', it is impossible to make predictions but there are some changes currently in motion mainly from the private sector and the state that will likely have a significant impact on international development models. As government agencies and organization practitioners are forced to re-think the effectiveness and sustainability of aid programs the industry continues to expand. The volume of nonprofit and community-based organizations has been steadily mushrooming, placing much pressure on a shrinking pool of financial assistance (Cottle & Nolan, 2007). The need for economic stability in this competitive (market-like) environment has forced many agencies rethink conventional supports. Interestingly, Richey and Ponte (2011) argue, in an effort to ensure long-term stability, nonprofits are partnering with corporations, opening up a new spaces for the private sector in the field of development.

This is not to say that the private sector hasn't been indirectly profiting from strategies around 'development' since before the colonial era (Alhassan, 2009; Moyo, 2009; Blowfield, 2004). However, this Post-Washington Consensus world has ushered in a new era in the political economy of foreign assistance. The corporation has become crucial in driving humanitarian responses, communicating organizational mandate, subsidizing operational budgets and attracting public support for development organizations. It is with this logic that models such as the development good become significant within new paradigms of support. The following chapter will continue with the theme of private sector support for international development initiatives by exploring and critiquing models of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), introducing innovative private-public partnerships and examining the structure of the development good in much more detail.

Chapter Four

“The Gift” in the Private Sector

As early as the 18th century thinkers, such as First Baron Thurlow, Lord Chancellor of England asked “Did you ever expect a corporation to have a conscience, when it has no soul to be damned and no body to be kicked? And by God, it ought to have both!” (Banerjee, 2007, p. 15).

“Development has never been more than a pretext for expanding the realm of the commodity, but throughout the ‘messianic’ period this was obscured by a stream of promises and policies, declarations and measures, which kept up the illusion whereby people could be made to act in certain ways”

(Rist, 2008, p. 224)

Three summers ago I took my nieces out for ice cream to celebrate the end of the school year. At the time they were eight and ten. We went to a little bakery not far from my house and after making our selections the owners informed us that they had a courtyard where we could sit and enjoy our treats. We stepped through the back door into a lovely garden with several little areas for seating, some covered and some not. We settled under a striped awning into cozy chairs and looked around - it was beautiful! Kate, eight years old, sighed and said, “it is so nice of the bakery to build such a pretty place for us to sit”. Sarah, Kate’s older sister, looked at me and smiled. Very gently she said, “Kate, they do this so that we will come here again and get ice cream”. Kate nodded, “I know- isn’t it nice of them?” Sarah just smiled to herself and let it go. We both knew that

it wasn't just about the bakery wanting to do something 'nice' for us. It was also about money, it was about sales and it was about competition. Clearly, by being the older sister, Sarah had the advantage of a more sophisticated understanding of business. Kate, naturally, wasn't thinking in terms of business logic. She was able to experience the lovely garden on a beautiful day as a gift, a disinterested kindness. For that reason, I think Sarah and I were both a little jealous of Kate. How lovely it would have been, even just for a moment, to enjoy the summer ice cream surrounded by blossoms without (consciously or unconsciously) understanding that it existed to build a brand, create customer loyalty and generate sales. I've thought of this day several times, especially in connection to discussions of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) and notions of the gift.

As the role of the corporation continues to expand we need to be constantly reflecting on the relationships and processes that underpin exchange. The motivations underlying private sector engagement and the flow of 'gifts' (financial and in-kind) through corporate philanthropy have roused both suspicion and admiration. This chapter will focus on the rise of private sector gifting, particularly to communities identified as 'in need' and/or 'developing' through traditional models of CSR. Critiques of CSR and its interest in the field of development will be presented and considered against emerging private-public models for change, such as Creative Capitalism. Finally, the structure of the development good model will be put forward as revolutionizing the role of aid actors and incentive by strategically tying the delivery of service and response to the movement of branded commodities.

Corporate Social Responsibility

We see the erosion of the state and the immense growth of capitalist forces everyday. Increasingly, corporations are taking over the role of the state in determining future policy, programming and innovation. Drache writes, “for scholars of the Left persuasion, the global corporation is at once the principle agent, architect, villain and major beneficiary of the new world order” (2001, P.6). The dramatically incongruent development of global market forces and corporate accountability have created a demand for an interesting phenomenon generally referred to as Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). Loosely defined as corporate support for social, cultural and environmental issues beyond organizational mandate, the politics of CSR have garnered tremendous interest. Given corporate culture’s increasing power and influence within and beyond the public sphere, it is vital that the meaning and discourse of CSR be fully explored. MacLeod (2006) writes that CSR has reached and surpassed its ‘tipping point’. The public is aware of and has accepted it as a standard corporate feature. Writer for *The Economist*, Clive Crook (2005), although wildly critical of CSR, agrees that it has won a “victory in the battle of ideas” (p. 1). Although CSR has indeed become very popular as an idea and as a public relations tool, some very serious questions are currently being raised around its ability to actually affect change within targeted communities.

The prevailing position around the definition of CSR is that there is not one (Coombs & Holladay, 2012; Matten & Moon, 2008; Marsden, 2006; Jonker & Marberg, 2007). The term is used to include reactionary policy to corporate citizenship, corporate governance, a method of reducing potential risk, process awareness, philanthropy and

proactive programming. CSR has become a blanket term for any corporate driven activity that appears to account for the social or public domain. For example, corporate social responsibility is understood as:

- “a program of actions to reduce externalized costs or to avoid distributional conflicts...It can also act to improve corporate profits and guard against reputational risks” (Heal, 2005).
- “consist[ing] of clearly articulated and communicated policies and practices of corporations that reflect business responsibility for some of the wider societal good. Yet the precise manifestation and direction of the responsibility lie at the discretion of the corporation” (Matten and Moon, 2008, p.405).
- “a balance of all responsibilities and policies which meet or exceed expectations, values and norms of stakeholders and society at large” (Podnar & Golob, 2007, P. 328).
- “companies increasingly being judged not just by the product and profits they make, but by how these products are made” (Sparkes, 2003, p. 2.)
- “firms must not only not harm various stakeholders in their pursuit of profit, but that they must go one step further: they should proactively strive to improve the working and living standards of their employees, contribute to the communities in which they operate and preserve and protect their environment” (Jonker & Marberg, 2007, p. 108).

While the above definitions may seem abstract, CSR presents itself as sponsorship of a marathon (CIBC Run for the Cure), cultural events (Scotia Bank Presents Nuit Blanche) and spaces (Home Depot’s adoption of Toronto’s outdoor skating rinks). Some corporations create foundations, such as the Ford Foundation, to which community-based programs can apply for funding. Nike’s more recent commitment to anti-sweatshop labour, Tim Horten’s involvement with minor hockey, H&M’s HIV and AIDS awareness campaigns and grocery chains’ shift towards cloth bags are all examples of private industry articulating support for the wider public. The competing discourses of CSR and

ambiguities around definition likely exist for many reasons but first and foremost, is the lack of consensus around the role of the corporation beyond the bottom line and the role of the state. These divisions within dialogue and debate have contributed greatly to the splintered conceptualizations and expectations around traditional CSR initiatives.

The Rise of CSR

The origins of CSR are not easily traced. This, in part, is likely related to the division that exists around its constitution. Coombs and Holladay (2012) situate CSR as being both an ancient and modern phenomenon. They connect the practice with early ideas of *noblesse oblige*, suggesting that with great privilege and power comes responsibility. They also create a link between corporate profiles and social consciousness that dates back to the 1700s. The authors argue that, for example, socially responsible investment practiced by the Quakers avoided business models relying on slave labour and that Methodist preaching fought against businesses that caused harm to their labourers. This growing awareness of, and reflection on, the practice as well as the product of private sector interests encouraged an interest in communicating corporate engagement (and disengagement). Therefore, Coombs and Holladay identify the emergence of social accounting, social auditing and social reporting as well as the tension between internal and external accountability to be well established by the early 20th century.

Banerjee (2007) argues that the origins of CSR exist in the 19th century in the form of philanthropic charitable donations, community and faith based service as well as consideration to employees' safety and security. Early industrialists were especially active in these developments. In 1951, Frank Abrams who was the Chairmen of the

Board for Standard Oil (which grew into the company known today as Exxon), contributed the following appeals to *The Harvard Business Review*, “for top management to become ‘good citizens’ aspire to a ‘higher duty of professional management’ and ‘contribute to the solution of many complex social problems of our times’ because business firms are ‘man-made instruments of society’” (Banerjee, 2007, P. 5).

The Changing Politics of Corporate Social Responsibility

This call to service and recognition of responsibility laid the foundation for modern CSR policy. It was followed up with fascinating discussions of Christianity and the application of theological positioning to the business community. This was particular to the 1950s understanding of business and conscience (although it could be argued that ideas of salvation continue to be implicitly a part of CSR appeals). Although Banerjee’s (2007) position is more about the rhetoric of responsibility than public accountability, there is a very real intersection that cannot be ignored. Given that Coombs and Holladay (2012) have isolated a wider stakeholder approach to public interests, pre-dating the above discussion of individual responsibility, it seems like there were likely multiple and overlapping reasons for engaging in activities that are currently understood as CSR.

MacLeod (2007), however, examined the historical development of CSR models as we know them today and describes formal CSR programs as being significantly connected to the social consciousness of the 1960s. Increasing globalization, mobility, awareness of global power dynamics and the visibility of oppression (especially through television) critically impacted the social consciousness of the 1960s. Counter-publics formed and demanded broad social, political and economic change. Naturally the

expanded role and practice of the private sector became a controversial public debate. Therefore, opposition to CSR also developed, particularly the rise of free market libertarian, Milton Freeman. Although he blatantly opposed CSR, equating it to stakeholder theft, he has become a central figure in the current debate around the role of the corporation in the public domain (Sparkes, 2003; Bannerjee, 2007).

Public opinion of the 1970s was very much an extension of the increased global awareness of 1960s and recommended that corporations, especially, have a moral responsibility beyond profit. Corporate culture, however, did not recognize or respond to these demands as legitimate business practices. Coombs and Holladay (2012) describe the practice of CSR, at this time, to amount to widespread 'greenwashing' with little strategic impact. The neo-liberal and neoconservative market ideology of the Thatcher and Reagan era in the 1980s supported widespread de-regulation and privatization (Sparkes, 2003). While this directly conflicted with any sense of corporate social responsibility the backlash towards such government policy and business practice strengthened citizen response to the exploitative nature of neoliberalism and saw increased support for environmental and community-based initiatives.

The 1990s, MacLeod (2007) explains, made way for the 'stakeholder approach' to CSR. This acknowledged that beyond shareholders, a number of parties have interests that must be taken into consideration (local, regional and global communities, environmental organizations, employees, industry contacts, consumers). Examples of this shift include the public boycotts of Nike after the *New York Times* described their exploitative and oppressive labour practices as well as Greenpeace's protests of Shell

Oil's sinking of the Brent Star in the North Sea (Porter & Kramer, 2006). These, along with the WTO protests in Seattle, signaled, a growing demand to move beyond meeting basic legal labour and environmental requirements. Interestingly, companies that were targeted by protesters during the WTO riots and did not have a prior reputation for social responsibility suffered a three percent market decline, demonstrating the economic value of *proactively* communicating social responsibility to the public (Schnietz & Epstein, 2004).

Another profound shift in CSR occurred in the late 1990s with the emergence of the United Nations in the dialogue around public-private organization. In 1999 the UN constructed the Global Compact (Banerjee, 2007). This initiative sought to engage corporations in struggles related to the 'three pillars' of CSR, identified by MacLeod (2007) as environmental sustainability, human rights and labour concerns. In 2001 Kofi Annan, the secretary general of the United Nations, followed this up with the launch of the Global AIDS and Health Fund. In a plea to American business leaders, he said that by supporting such an endeavor there will be a "happy convergence between what your shareholders pay you for and what is best for millions of people the world over" (p.1). This focus on developing relationships and networks continues to play a central role in the discourse of CSR, however, current debate seems to also focus on the effectiveness of CSR (Gilmore & Pine, 2007).

Canadian Corporate Social Responsibility

The discussion above represents a very general dialogue around the emergence of CSR, in this case focused on an American context. In Canada the historical trajectory of

CSR was quite different (Foster, Meinhard, Berger & Krpan, 2009). The state's social orientation, close relationship with voluntary organizations as well as the lack of tax incentive for charitable donation (compared to American systems of taxation) slowed down the movement of corporate structures into social issues. CSR originated as more of an accountability and reporting practice in Canada. However, the withdrawal of the Canadian government from many nonprofit funding models in the early 1990s forced the voluntary sector to expand and diversify its support base. Through this process, companies also grew to appreciate the 'non-tax' and marketing incentives attached to public-private partnerships.

Corporate philanthropy, within the Canadian context, has also been challenging. As noted previously, the lack of tax incentive for corporate gifting has hindered the development of broad philanthropic investment. Fost et al. (2009) used a Muttart Foundation report from 2002 to demonstrate that although citizens believed that corporations likely provide 10% of their revenue to charities it was in actuality closer to 1% (although by 2005 this had increased to 3%). The authors note a continuation of increased financial support for public initiatives as well as diverse forms of in-kind gifts. This, perhaps, suggest a shift in Canadian CSR practices to resemble a slightly more 'American' model of philanthropic relationships.

Interests and Desires

By this point, one might be asking, why bother? Why are corporations even interested in participating in gifting outside of traditional organizational activity? Like so many of the previous gifting models discussed, motivation is impossible to isolate.

However, the above discussion teases out some potential, overlapping and conflicting interests for private sector gifts. Bannerjee (2007) points to issues of religious and ethical duty whereas Schnietz and Epstein (2004) discuss brand protections and reputation. In a more abstract sense, arguments in Friedman, MacKey and Rogers (2005) claim that CSR has the potential to perpetuate capitalism, as it protects the system from more widespread backlash. Podnar and Golob (2007) speak to CSR's ability to both extend a brand and provide a competitive edge for private sector actors. Finally, Gates and Buffett (as found in Kinsley, 2007) add that more than ever, employees want to work in a sector or business that is committed to positively impacting the world in which they live. Therefore, part of building a brand lends itself to employee recruitment and retention. This is not to say that dynamic and socially conscious CEOs and entrepreneurs do not exist- they absolutely do- but these points are identified to paint a picture of the multiple ways in which the private sector stands to 'profit' from actions and processes framed as 'gift'.

Critique of Traditional Models of Corporate Social Responsibility

It has been argued that CSR has not really proved successful beyond working "for some of the firms, in some places, in tackling some issues, some of the time" (Newell & Frynas, 2007, p.674) and that engaging in such costly endeavors should provide more than the typical 'competitive advantage' and 'reputational insurance' (Podnar & Golob, 2007; Schnietz & Epstein 2004). The efficacy of traditional CSR models to create valuable and lasting change has been seriously called into question. Add to this that Drache (2008) writes of a general cultural decline in deference toward the institutions, authorities and power structures that organize society, including corporations and private

sector interests. Further, Gilmore and Pine (2007) suggest that the sophistication of today's consumer has also impacted corporate organization around social issues. Citizens are active in questioning labour practices, production and distribution processes, issues of trade, the flows of goods and services and rates of consumption.

What has resulted is an increased culture of suspicion around corporate organization and engagement. People are no longer satisfied with cosmetic mock-ups of social responsibility. Increasingly, members of the public are organizing counter-publics to demand more authentic actions and a commitment to lasting change. CSR's shaky track record with producing meaningful change compounded by the lack of customer buy-in for private sector initiatives creates an environment in which corporations are struggling to stay relevant in relation to the gift. Here it will be argued that CSR is particularly vulnerable in three key areas- use of language, lack of strategy and a failure to appear 'authentic'.

Language

Before even entering into discussions around CSR, one must address the most fundamental barrier to understanding and action, language. Jonker and Marberg write that:

CSR currently appears to be widely recognized and accepted. However, there is no consensus on its meaning, either among corporate actors or other constituencies. As a result the acronym is being thrown around but nobody really knows what it stands for. It is still more of an idea, a vague concept, in the discourse stage being debated by academia, business and government in the different arenas and using various vocabularies (2007, P. 108).

Consider the definitions used to introduce the idea of CSR in this chapter. Terminology includes the following phrases; externalized costs, distributional conflicts, wider societal

good, balance of all responsibilities, as well as the values and norms of stakeholders and societies at large. What does this even mean? Although there are degrees of equivalence amongst these definitions, they remain vague and lack specificity. The descriptions range from protective strategies around cost and reputation to ethical responsibility for the community's wellbeing, and finally, a shift towards proactive change. As Matten and Moon (2008) point out, this action is always at the discretion of the corporation. Therefore, these codes and manifestos are open to interpretation and selective manipulation. Just as no one can really agree on *what is CSR*, no one can agree on *what is not CSR*. The language can and is invoked to cover a host of activities that may or may not be aligned with creating lasting change. This contributes to a culture of CSR that is not only fragmented but is also conflicted.

CSR's breadth and inclusivity, alone, is not necessarily problematic. However, the fact that it has already earned a reputation for being a convenient corporate 'catch-all' means that as a practice CSR has, for many, been de-legitimized and defined by a logic of corporate spin (perhaps at the expense of more engaged programming) (Gilmore and Pine, 2007). The language of CSR has become so embedded in corporate advantage that it has become very difficult to de-link social interest from financial appeal.

Not Strategic

While CSR has indeed become a thriving industry (complete with certification opportunity, consultancy firms, the production of supportive literature and the publication of external reporting documents) its visibility should not be mistaken for overall effectiveness. Porter & Kramer (2006) defend the potential of CSR but suggest that as it

exists now, most approaches lack strategy. This not unrelated to the previous critique. The ambiguity around the language of CSR and its ability to be invoked to cover any and all corporate interests 'beyond the factory walls', creates a space in which it becomes very easy for private sector agencies to engage superficially.

Chatterji and Listokin (2006) make a distinction between strategic CSR described as "a set of actions that promotes long term profit for the firm given its competition, consumers, suppliers, and market environment" and non-strategic CSR as "business behaviour that is at direct odds with short and reasonably long term profitability" (p. 9). The disconnect between overall organizational strategy (business mandate) and CSR means that initiatives will likely lack sustainability, as corporations will eventually lose interest or move on to other campaigns. However, if CSR is somehow linked to corporate mandate the potential for a more productive relationship expands. For example, Chatterji and Listokin suspect that if businesses were as creative and insightful in devising CSR models as for-profit campaigns, CSR could be a rich source of "opportunity, innovation and competitive advantage" (p. 1) rather than being perceived as a constraint.

Speaking to this lack of strategy, Margolis and Elfenbein (2008) write that after completing an analysis of 167 studies conducted over the course of 35 years connecting ideas of social responsibility with profitability, there is in fact only a very small correlation between favourable corporate business practices and profit. Margolis and Elfenbein state, "of the various forms that social responsibility can take, cash contributions to charities have shown a stronger correlation with success than have socially responsible corporate policies or community projects" (p.1). This lack of results

within a field as broad as CSR suggests that it needs to consider alternative models and more targeted strategies in order to produce more definitive outcomes.

Authenticity

The final point on which CSR will be critiqued is authenticity. Gilmore and Pine (2007) have argued that authenticity is one of the most powerful emerging consumer sensibilities. Thus, CSR (depending on the program) can become an opportunity to appeal or repel potential consumers. The combined influences of broad ambiguous language, a lack of targeted strategy as well as the underlying suspicion toward corporate initiatives all contribute to a perceived lack of authenticity around private sector engagement. The public, they argue, is very sensitive to the lack of validity in many CSR claims. Citizens suspect that many current CSR frameworks exist to distract the public by bracketing social responsibility into a neat little package and selling it to the public, while it remains outside of standard social practice. This provides a protective dimension to CSR and enables corporations to act, at times, unethically while producing glossy reports and media campaigns that say otherwise (Freeman & Velamuri, 2006). Michael Blowfield (2004) observes that CSR has come under attack from neo-liberal business theorists who believe that 'the business of business is business'. CSR has also come under attack from consumers who are suspicious of glossy campaigns that amount to nothing more than superficial public relations. More recently, Blowfield notes that, CSR is even being critiqued by its 'friends', those who are on the receiving end of financial and in-kind support.

In 2004, Christian Aid, a UK-based NGO, published a report entitled '*Behind the Mask: The real face of corporate social responsibility*'. Included in the arguments were the following concerns: CSR privileges public relations over impact; CSR acts as a distraction from existing practices and operations; CSR often originates as a reaction to calls of exploitation and abuse; CSR cannot adequately respond to the impact global corporations have on the world around them; CSR is a tool used by multinational corporations to prevent regulating international business practices; CSR (as opposed to international regulation) does not adequately address individual cases of labour abuses; and, CSR activities do not require any long term commitment and companies can up and leave at the drop of a hat. Stemming from examinations of multiple CSR cases (Tobacco, Shell and Coca-cola) these claims are as significant as the source. For a charitable organization to speak out against an entire pool of potential funders is rather unheard of in today's economy. This clearly speaks to the wider culture of relationships between corporations and nonprofits. The reports states that Christian Aid is not opposed, in principle, to responsible corporate action but that in most cases "the rhetoric and the reality are simply contradictory" (p.4). The report is an argument for regulation and accountability within the field of CSR rather than a complete rejection of the model but it clearly speaks to the incredible challenges facing organizations interested in partnering with private sector.

Atschuller and Feldman (2007), remind us that the power and influence of the corporation is tremendous. While one might not agree that CSR (as we tend to understand it today) is appropriate or effective, it does not necessarily mean that we can afford to

abandon the larger idea of corporate responsibility. We have seen that simply creating a gloss on capitalism is very transparent and further alienates the public. While few actually expect a corporation to engage in truly altruistic acts, they do expect and even demand a legitimate attempt towards change.

Taken together, the three critiques of CSR- vague language, lack of strategy and a failure to appear authentic- speak to the context from which innovative models of public-private partnerships have emerged. The following section will explore the rise of social entrepreneurship and 'creative capitalism' and its influence in the field of corporate gifting.

Creative Capitalism

As the lines between generating profit and investing in the consumer's social world are constantly being redrawn, theorists and practitioners tend to agree that although Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) has indeed become very popular as a public relations tool, consumers tend to remain apprehensive (Matten & Moon, 2008; Marsden, 2006; Jonker & Marberg, 2007). Tired of thinly veiled campaigns privileging long-term corporate gain over authentic social development, consumers continue to expect more from corporate constructions of CSR. Vital to understandings of brand equity, customer loyalty and employee satisfaction, corporations have to find ways of garnering trust and extending the logic of social consciousness in fresh and innovative directions.

As previously noted, Gilmore and Pine (2007) describe authenticity as the new consumer sensibility. They suggest that a shift away from traditional CSR models is necessary in order to make corporations relevant and meaningful within a larger context.

With this knowledge, corporations are forced to be more creative with their social responsibility. To establish credibility, corporations have become increasingly interested in developing extensive NGO relationships and networks. The political context and actors lend legitimacy to corporate involvement, alleviating some of the suspicion around corporate incentive and motivation. Recent CSR models in the field of foreign aid represent a very valuable tool in bridging the complex worlds of business and development (Blowfield, 2005). In attempting to align with current consumer sensibilities, the private sector has made adjustments not only in how they do business but in what they consider to be 'business'.

The explosion of nonprofit organizations competing for financial support coupled with the private sector's desire to be seen as credible and authentic in its social responsibility mandate have certainly contributed to the emergence of diverse public-private development models. In 2008, Bill Gates formally introduced his agenda for 'Creative Capitalism' at the World Economic Forum in Davos Switzerland (Kinsley, 2008). He expressed understanding human nature as two distinct forces, self-interest and caring for others. Gates suggested that businesses, nonprofits and governments should come together and expand the role of market forces to propel social change. Creative Capitalism, according to Gates, attempts to unite self-interest and business expertise with the well being of vulnerable populations in the 'developing' world. The terms 'venture philanthropy', 'philanthropreneurs', 'creative capitalism', 'social entrepreneurship' and 'philanthrocapitalism' have all been coined to address what Gates calls a 'system innovation' (Bishop & Green, 2008). By maximizing and leveraging the profit invested in

the social, proponents say that sustainable solutions for many of the world's problems can be isolated.

In 2008, Michael Edwards authored *Just another Emperor*, in which he critically examines models of philanthrocapitalism. Although he raises some important questions around the potential for 'business thinking' to harm civil society one of the richest sections of his piece focuses on untangling the language of private-public sector relationships and responses. First, he identifies 'Social Enterprise' and 'Social Entrepreneurship' as having existed for centuries (building societies and cooperatives) but gaining renewed popularity in recent years. Then he defines it as the use of business logic, practices and tools to improve social conditions, essentially they "accept less profit to do more good" (p.17). However, Edwards cautions that social enterprise also sometimes fails to fully consider the politics of an issue and remains trapped in responding to symptoms of vulnerability rather than structural underpinnings. 'Venture Philanthropy' is a term first used by John D. Rockefeller III in 1969 to describe innovative funding measures employed by the charitable sector. Venture Philanthropy represents an aggressive change in organizational engagement. Edwards explains that the term is sometimes invoked to distinguish between 'old' and 'new' philanthropic styles- although he quotes Melinda Gates who argues it isn't the practice but the scale of practice that has changed overtime. Venture philanthropy is result-driven and like social enterprise it utilizes business methods and logic to respond to the demands placed on philanthropic organizations.

Creative Capitalism and Corporate Social Responsibility

How do these differ from the more traditional models of CSR described above?

Edwards (2008) positions CSR as being, in many cases, more of a public relations tool than an engaged method of transformation. Considering the complexity and diversity of CSR models and processes, Edwards's account of CSR seems quite flat. Technically, models such as philanthrocapitalism could easily fall under some of the broader, more inclusive conceptualizations of social responsibility. Although the new models are all very inclusive and overlapping, Edwards further argues that philanthrocapitalism is distinct in three specific ways: the scale of capital invested in such models is tremendous; business methods are understood to be superior to all other interventions practiced in civil society; and, philanthrocapitalism promises societal transformation beyond securing vital goods and services.

Yes, as noted, the scale of capital, privileging of business methods and interest in wider social transformation are not typically associated with CSR but there is no reason they couldn't be a part of a CSR program. It seems that what sets creative capitalism and models of philanthrocapitalism apart from traditional CSR activities is more in the structure, in two respects. First, traditional CSR, whether it is considered 'strategic' or not, is built and incorporated into corporate mandate. Social responsibility is not the primary focus of the organization. Social entrepreneurship and philanthrocapitalism, on the other hand, are argued to be business models built in response to pressing social and environmental causes. Theoretically speaking, the 'means' and 'ends' of social entrepreneurship are different. In social entrepreneurship, profit and business logic would be the means to an end (social impact) whereas with traditional CSR, social change is the

means to another end (profit/business logic). Of course, it is not this simple. As noted above these are the theoretical differences but the practical differences are a little murkier. Social entrepreneurship is not altruistic- it builds brands and generates wealth. CSR is not necessarily completely interested- it does impact social change. Thus, the distinction between CSR and social entrepreneurship is indeed very theoretical.

The second structural difference is that the scale of response (not just capital) and partnership model of many social entrepreneurship projects necessitates a space devoted to solely to the initiative. Traditional CSR projects are housed within the bounds of a corporation but the scope and scale of social entrepreneurship demands its own space and structure. Additionally, rich partnership networks are often formed suggesting that creative capitalism is a more collective act. Bill Gates (2008) proposes that creative capitalism is an opportunity for governments, businesses and nonprofits to pool their collective resources and maximize impact. Therefore, a degree of independence or distance between the corporation and the social entrepreneurship model emerges as it becomes bigger than any single organization or body. This speaks to a degree of autonomy not necessarily characteristic of typical CSR models.

Although in theory there might be considerable distinction between innovative models of creative capitalism and strategic CSR (ends, means, networks, autonomy) in practice they are often blurred. It is, therefore, difficult to position creative capitalism and philanthrocapitalism as entirely distinct from models of CSR. Perhaps it makes more sense to suggest that such examples of social entrepreneurship be categorized as a new and more engaged generation of CSR rather than complete departure. Regardless of

where models of social entrepreneurship, creative capitalism and philanthrocapitalism are situated, they do represent innovation in public-private relationships. Although not necessarily limited to any particular field, texts such as *Philanthrocapitalism* (2008) and *Creative Capitalism* (2008) connect models of social entrepreneurship to issues of international development. Created to address the most urgent of global concerns, such models are naturally linked to issues of development.

Corporate Social Responsibility and International Development

A recent report from the World Economic Forum “says it’s no more a question of ‘if’ but ‘how’ can business contribute to beating development challenges” (Ethical Corporation, 2008). The role of the private sector in the field of development has been controversial. Corporations, both local and global, exist in the third world development context in a variety of capacities ranging from purely profit seeking (and often exploitative) ventures to agencies contracted by development firms to carry out the practical processes of development to public-private hybrids (such as social enterprise) to independent donors and sponsors of projects through the existence of CSR mandates. Additionally, the corporation can be engaged in multiple, overlapping and even contradictory modes of engagement with the field on international development. The role of the corporation in the field of development is shifting given that private sector, non-state actors are leading the bulk of economic development, particularly in the realm of resource and mineral extraction (Shaw, 2013).

Idemudia (2008) writes that although it didn’t start out this way, CSR is now understood as both a way to reduce negative externalities and contribute to the

‘development’ of the Global South. He uses Vives (2004) to state that “CSR by its very nature is development done by the private sector, and it perfectly compliments the development efforts of governments and multilateral development institutions” (p.92). Idemudia also writes that although some researchers in the field of CSR have serious concerns around the potential for private sector interest in the field of development to let governments ‘off the hook’ when it comes to development initiatives, other theorists feel there is a space for rich complimentary action. Hopkins (2007), however, argues that it is not about letting governments off the hook, it is about recognizing that governments have failed to meet the needs of populations around the world. He sees the private sector (CSR programs in particular) as being an effective space of intervention in meeting development challenges.

Desire for the Field of Development

Hopkins (2007) outlines nine benefits of CSR in the field of international development: company reputation, access to financing, employee motivation, inspiring learning and creativity, risk management, building of relationships, consumer interest in ethical companies, blurring of business and development fields, and, consumer interest in operations. He adds that in the long run, companies with active CSR programs perform better financially, carry less debt and have market longevity. These incentives, interestingly, do not seem to be exclusive to international development contexts.

So, why is it that the field of development, specifically, has become so attractive to private sector investors? Related to this question, Blowfield (2004) proposes that the relationship between international development and the private sector is an interesting

one to consider for two reasons in particular. First, the field of development can also be considered a space for exploring new products and markets. In his 2010 text, *The Fortune at the Bottom of the Pyramid*, C.K. Prahalad argues, as the title suggest, that there is much opportunity for financial investment in the 'Bottom of the Pyramid'. Prahalad estimates that four billion people live on less than two dollars each day. He puts forward that partnership between investment firms, the NGO community and populations in need could produce rich entrepreneurial potential. By re-articulating the narrative of 'aid recipients' to one of 'consumers of goods and services' (he uses the example of communications devices and technology), understandings of response shifts to what has previously been discussed (and Prahalad makes this connection) as Creative Capitalism.

The second reason for private sector interest in development is not surprising. Companies are often criticized for exploitative practices and oppressive conditions in developing countries. Development projects offer a global means of re-branding corporate structures. The idea of corporate gloss and redemption was discussed earlier, however, working specifically in the development field ensures that potential consumers understand corporate international engagement as just and ethical. Incidentally, Richey and Ponte (2011) note that it is convenient that corporations engage in this social responsibility with 'distant others' (disconnected from their existing markets) because there is little opportunity for talk-back or a critical voices from those most impacted by their engagement.

Finally, brand profile, reputation and expansion appear to be at the heart of corporate interest in development issues. As Blowfield (2004) highlighted, when one

accepts the role of private capital in the field of development one must also accept a funding culture originating from business logic and projects for which a business case can be made. As development becomes colonized by corporate philanthropy and CSR, the 'developing' world not only becomes a space used to redeem corporate reputations and attract potential consumers but also one in which new markets can be created. The field of development gains value as both market and marketing. The following section will focus on the field of development in relation to marketing and the movement of goods and services. The model at the heart of this work, 'development good', will be introduced as a form of humanitarian merchandising that ensures private sector involvement is communicated and commodities are moved.

Structure and Commodification of the Development 'Good'

The development 'good' describes a very specific arrangement in the sale of corporate products to benefit various organizations in the field of international development. Generally, a relationship is created between a corporation and a nonprofit organization (sometimes a network of agencies). Together these agencies form a structure that allows for the ongoing support of development projects. The business identifies products or an entire line of products that will generate revenue for the organization. The corporation publicizes its intent to 'give' a portion of profit to their designated charity. Invoking the logic and rhetoric of 'giving' and 'charity' these heavily marketed campaigns create an association between corporate and charity brands. This enables them to fulfill the task of more traditional CSR, continue to profit from the consumption of goods and services while generating a sustainable source of revenue for organizations.

Defining the Development Good

The language, 'development good', has been selected in reference to the term 'development gift' (Stirrat & Henkel, 1997; Kapoor, 2008). Foreign aid from nation to nation or through multi-lateral organizations is often framed as a generous and disinterested gift. The ideological and material interests of 'giving' in this particular context, like so many others, are concealed. In their place are narratives of altruism, 'haves and have nots', charitable virtues, position in the global order and patriotism. International development is framed as occurring through a 'no strings attached' gift. The development good, in contrast to the traditional development gift, represents development support through the sale of specific and identifiable goods. That this model hinges on the ongoing consumption of commodities differentiates it from the development gift. The development good, however, remains embedded in larger discourses of corporate giving as profits are directed, voluntarily, to development initiatives. Nevertheless, the 'gift' is directly tied to sale of commodities and mediated by public consumption instead of a direct philanthropic gift to an organization, creating a gift- commodity hybrid. The development gift opens up the field of international development to individual consumers, market logic and cycles of consumption.

The process through which the 'gift' is embedded in the development good model is dependent, to a certain extent, on the commodification of the 'gift'. In Mosco's (1996, p. 143-144) definition of commodification, he describes a "process of transforming use values into exchange values, of transforming products whose value is determined by their ability to meet individual and social needs into products whose value is set by what they

can bring in the marketplace”. Through the development good, the notion of ‘commodity’ is expanded to be inclusive of both the physical good and the promise of development. Consumers engaged in these transactions are not only purchasing a retail item but they are also being sold ‘the gift of development’ to ‘other’. The promise of gift, included in the price of the development good is a newly commodified space, one that did not have private sector consumer appeal (although the wider practice of international development itself is highly commercial).

The social currency of development practices (in a global context) has assigned new value to the process of aid and assistance – a clear market value. Whether it be a desire for development, consumer guilt or an understanding of global inequality (to name a few possibilities), the idea of aiding the ‘other’ has become a critical consumer sensibility. In fact, Blake Mycoskie, founder of development good model TOMS, explicitly stated that for people considering models of social enterprise, “giving might be the best investment you’ll ever make” (2011, p.20). He credits the success of his brand with the gifts that it provides. As a result the notion of gift in development is commodified in a new way and it takes on a market identity and market values of the traditional commodity with which it is paired.

Whereas before individuals may have supported structures of aid and assistance through civil society, state or religious institutions they are now able to provide support as consumers through distinct market mechanisms. This transforms the traditional relationships of ‘donor’ and ‘recipient’ of the development gift to exist as both ‘donor’/ ‘recipient’ and ‘consumer’/ ‘commodity’ through the development good process. This

demonstrates a definite shift from the social to the commercial through the responses coordinated by the development good. Interestingly, it might also be suggested that there are parallel processes of commodification and de-commodification occurring simultaneously as the physical commodity of the development good model likely experiences some erasure of its commercial status due to its direct linkage with notions of gift to 'other'.

At this point, the difference between the development 'good' and the more general practice of Cause Related Marketing (CRM) might be confusing. First, CRM is not restricted to the field of international development and has, in fact, been more active with health charities such as breast cancer (King, 2006). Second, the structure of CRM and the development 'good' are different in that the development good exists as a structure outside of standard operations. What this means is that it is not simply a relationship between a corporation and a charity, it is a newly created space where the corporation and the charity come together- typically a brand of its own. Therefore, it is thought of as a sustainable business model rather than a simple marketing strategy. Foster et al. (2009) note that CRM is often a feature of the marketing budget rather than CSR program. This seems to speak loudly to the underlying interests of CRM practices. Third, because the development good is framed as business model there are scaling and temporal differences between this model and CRM. Unlike CRM, the development good is an ongoing model. Therefore, it isn't just one product for a limited time period. The development good exists as an entire range of products that continue to be available to consumers.

Re-positioning of the Private Sector

This emerging development ‘good’ model represents a paradigmatic shift because it revolutionizes the role of aid ‘actors’ and ‘incentive’. Historically aid has been provided bi-laterally or through multilateral organizations. However, this model tends to bypass the already declining role of the state in foreign assistance (Idemudia, 2008). The position of the corporation shifts from somewhat passive support, common to many standard CSR activities (perhaps in the form of a one-off donation or fundraiser) to being officially recognized as an active development stakeholder. Corporations are granted a legitimate voice in how and which development projects are funded. Moving well beyond the UN’s call for strategic alignment between the fields of business and development, the private sector is actually structuring three-way relationships between consumers, corporations and charities. Therefore, as the role of the private sector in the field of development spikes so does that of the individual consumer. In the case of the development good, the ‘giving/donorship’ becomes a joint venture between the commodity producer and consumer.

This is a critical part of the framework for the development ‘good’, that the public becomes an actor in the process of change. This is comparable to movements in the field of social media in which the public becomes the producer, generating content and media products. Smythe (1977) and Jhally (1987), have both positioned the audience as worker in media paradigms. Similarly, the development ‘good’ requires the consumer’s ‘buy in’ in order to initiate change. It is up to the public to consume these products in order to activate this particular conceptualization of ‘change’. Consumers are no longer the end of the chain of production but are actually, themselves, producers. The continuation and

extension of the commodity chain provides additional meaning and value. In terms of CSR and the cultural power of the development 'good', Gilmore and Pine argue that "the crucial component of such social authenticity comes from letting customers construct a piece of your business. If costumers create it themselves then they will consider it real" (2007, P. 20). They have also coined the term 'prosumer', defined as being one who is involved and feels ownership in a process or of a product. Such an opportunity is built around the provision of a platform rather than a simple product. Therefore by positioning the consumer as an actor in a development model, corporations are creating more 'authentic' consumer experiences, making the development good a very powerful tool in terms of CSR and development funding.

Conclusions

There is clearly much debate within the broad sphere of CSR. Tensions exist around the role of the corporation, the responsibility of the private sector as well as its relationship with the state (Chatterjee & Listokin, 2007). To further muddy these waters, the language around CSR is accused of lacking theoretical specificity and enabling highly selective and superficial spin to dominate the culture of corporate social responsibility (Jonker & Marberg, 2007). Additional critiques argue that traditional CSR lacks the strategic intent required to ensure sustainability and an overall feeling of authenticity (Porter & Kramer, 2006; Gilmore & Pine, 2007). What emerges is a paradigm in crisis as the corporate rhetoric that fills newsletters, puffs up websites and even makes its way into mainstream media segments and advertising campaigns begins to further alienate consumers.

What has also become evident is that corporate social engagement serves a vital function for the private sector. Blowfield (2004) notes that beyond the traditional organizational advantages to practicing CSR, it provides potential access to new markets. Yet, most importantly, it becomes a space to redeem, rebuild and recreate brand image and eventually secure new customers. The development good provides that vehicle capable of bypassing consumer resistance toward corporate communications. The development goods' reliance on business logic creates general understanding and forced acceptance around the required communications tools and strategies. Suddenly there is an argument to be made for direct correlations between advertising and 'aid' - facilitating a change in attitudes toward the relevant corporate messaging, as who can argue against aid and maximizing aid?

Edwards (2008) has claimed that civil society alone cannot remedy issues of poverty, injustice and discrimination as they all demand political, governmental and economic responses. The development good, however, seems to ignore several critical political, governmental and civil society processes by exclusively privileging the private sector. Comparing models similar to the development good (generation of profit through commodities to address poverty and vulnerability) with "the man who tries to pull himself out of a swamp by his own hair" (2008, p.56), Edwards questions the ability of the market, alone, and market-led initiatives to actually create lasting transformation in the lives of people suffering from extreme poverty. He does not suggest that the market and private sector have no place in these responses but that they might play more of a supportive role in addressing global insecurity.

The chapters to follow will explore these concerns in more detail. The next chapter will introduce three case studies relevant to the discussion of the development good- Product (RED), TOMS and Canada Collection. These cases will be discussed based on their ability to construct the identities of 'donors' and 'recipients', how they frame the notion of need and gift as well as their use of celebrity in the communications processes. Together, these points of comparison will create a dialogue around the meaning of, and implications for, the development good in articulations of development and aid.

Chapter Five

Explorations of the Development Good Case Studies- Product (RED), TOMS & Canada Collection

“Charity has become a secular affair and once it turned to the media, it became part game-show as well” (Godelier, 1999, p.13)

It is December 19th, 2011. Many people are in the midst of holiday shopping and watching as the days count down to those final opportunities to shop and prepare one's home for guests and celebrations. I've left CTV on in the next room after watching *Canada AM* and I can hear a morning talk show host announce an upcoming segment for gifts that are “all about giving back. A portion of these sales benefit charities so that you can feel good about spending your money this holiday season” (Gelman, 2011, Dec 19th). The products profiled include TOMS, Product (RED)'s Belvedere Vodka, FEED bags and teddy bears, Kiehl's Crème de Corps, bowties and ties from Read's Clothing Project and leather iPad covers.

The development good seems to be a model of gifting that continues to gain currency, particularly through the holiday season as people's busy lifestyles often prevent them from making their own gifts. Having to rely on consumer goods, people strive to personalize gifts through sentimental and symbolic choices. The development good offers a new layer of parallel ‘gifting’ that encodes new meaning into commodities. For example, a t-shirt from the GAP is no longer just a shirt as it has become symbolic of humanitarian action and notions of care. The following is a description of three case studies that have adopted (to different degrees) the development good model: Product (RED); TOMS; and, The Canada Collection. This discussion will explore the structure of

the development good, its power to build and shape the identity of participants, the overall framing of the gift, as well as the use of celebrity. First, the chapter will open by outlining the selected methodology and case sampling that allowed me to create a dialogue around the cases of Product (RED), TOMS and the Canadian Collection.

Case Study Methods: Non-Random Critical Case Sampling

Stake (1995) was especially useful in structuring discussions of the case studies and determining the type of case study. As will be discussed, I felt that the development good represented a new trend and innovation in fundraising for international development. For that reason an in-depth study would create many opportunities for learning. Stake would argue this makes the cases collective (multiple samples) and instrumental in that the sample of cases selected will be used to create awareness around the politics of this model as well as the potential interests of larger social, political, cultural and economic forces at play within the development good model.

Case studies might appear to be single examples with no merit in terms of ‘generalizability’, particularly when it comes to sampling several critical cases but Stake (1995) has argued that by selecting cases that provide solid and diverse opportunities for learning, the particular provides a rich source of meaning. Four cases (to be discussed below) were identified as significant to the subject matter. Multiple case studies were used in order to mark a distinct trend within development fundraising. I had no difficulty in finding appropriate examples; quite the opposite, it was difficult to narrow down the field of models. The decision to use multiple (three development good) cases in my sample may have emphasized breadth over depth (Chadderton and Torrance, 2011) but

my intention was to demonstrate a trend (but also unique cases within the trend) and a shift in response. For this reason, my particular form of case study is referred to as a critical case sampling.

Critical case sampling has been described as the purposeful selection of cases that bring a particular phenomenon to the fore and allow for researchers to better understand the objects of study (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007). Palys and Fraser (2008) also find that this method is useful in identifying 'decisive' cases, enabling me to select cases that best demonstrated particular elements of the development good model. Chadderton and Torrance (2011) describe the value of a case as relating to Stake's notion of 'Naturalistic Generalization' where "the reader recognizes aspects of their own experience in the case and intuitively generalizes from the case" (p. 54). These cases were, in many ways, a chance to critically explore the everyday experience of consumption and its increasingly common connection to issues of development and philanthropy. By deconstructing the models, institutions, actors and processes with which consumers regularly engage, these case studies created a common territory and language to begin the exploration.

The second way I found Stake (1994) was valuable was his discussion of boundary setting. The three case studies all represent multi-sectoral partnerships that work between the state, capital and civil society. Sometimes they seemed to know no bounds. I soon had to understand, as Stake instructs, one must be selective and accept in impossibility of intimately knowing and articulating all the moving pieces of a case, here the development good model. Chadderton and Torrance (2011) agree that there is much disagreement on the bounds of any case. I tried to focus my discussion of the cases on the

communicative strategies and outputs but the boundaries were quite fluid in that I felt comfortable to address that which I felt I felt meaningful and relevant. I tried to avoid investing much time or research (beyond superficial identification) into all of the partner organizations and service providers but ultimately took a holistic approach to the cases instead of breaking the model down agent by agent.

As noted, my case study sample selection was both instrumental and collective (Stake, 1995) in that I identified multiple cases in order to note a trend in fundraising for development projects. While instrumental and collective case studies appeared to be the best fit to fully explore the area of philanthropy and the gift, non-random critical case sampling became essential. The selection of the critical cases based on their pervasiveness and positioning of partners fueled this study.

Critical Case Sample

I used a non-random critical case sampling (Palys & Fraser 2008; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007) in order to identify several cases that fit the profile of the model I have called the development good. As stated, there was nothing random about this selection, it was purposeful and required much reflection and consideration. The sample I constructed for the critical cases includes Product (RED), TOMS and the Canada Collection- all of which fit fairly neatly into my model of the development good.

Cliché as it might sound, the first sample case found me and the rest of my research was structured around this case. The Product (RED) campaign created so much personal conflict, confusion and curiosity that I decided to further investigate. I use Flyvberg's (2006) notion of the 'paradigmatic' case to describe my response. He quotes

Heidegger, who says that you recognize a paradigm because it shines. This certainly accounts for my engagement with (RED) as it seemed to mark a shift in the scale of corporate response and degree of spectacle normally associated with development fundraising. As Stake (1994) notes, some cases are selected because the opportunity to learn is great. Although I might not have understood this to be the case at the time, I think I intuitively felt that (RED) would provide a very rich learning landscape. The following sections will provide detailed descriptions of the cases and justify their inclusion in this body of research.

The Development Good Case Studies

The cases selected for discussion in this research, Product (RED), TOMS and The Canada Collection, have many points of intersection. As noted, they were chosen because they represent a new paradigm (Flyvberg, 2006) in the field of fundraising and communications referred to here as the development good. Clearly, each model has designated items as being ‘charitable’ while businesses promise to direct a portion of the profits to charities in regions considered ‘developing’ or ‘in need’. Discussing the idea of gift in development, Stirrat and Henkel state, “through the course of its journey, the gift creates a series of problematic relations, frequently ambiguous in terms of their meaning, and often paradoxical in terms of their implications” (1997, p. 69). Bono, co-founder of (RED) echoes this with his exclamation “smack in the middle of contradiction is the place to be” (Cooper, 2008 p.39). The following discussions of the development good will tease out the contradictions, complexities and consumer value that underpin models such as the development good.

Product (RED)

Bono is not new to the field of humanitarian response and social justice. Having been active with Bob Geldof's 1985 Live Aid concert, Bono made a reputation for himself as a socially active artist (Cooper, 2008). Together with his wife Alison Hewson, they stayed and worked at an orphanage in Ethiopia for four weeks after Live Aid. During the later 1990s he became known for using his rock star status to lobby governments around issues of trade and debt reduction. Through the (RED) campaign, Bono and Bobby Shriver, who is the current CEO of Debt Aid Trade Africa (DATA), have joined forces in an effort to raise awareness and alleviate needless suffering.

In Kinsley's (2008) *Creative Capitalism*, Bill Gates's address to the 2008 World Economic Forum in Davos was published. Here, Gates recounts sitting in a bar with Bono years ago and Bono trying to 'sell' him the idea of Product (RED). He claimed that Bono was on fire, late into the night. He was calling CEOs around the world and handing the phone to Gates. Bono was promoting a model that enabled companies with an interest in appearing socially conscious to sell products and direct a few percentages of the profit to charity. Bono convinced Gates that given the opportunity to purchase the 'civic-minded' goods, consumers would make the 'right' choice. Bishop and Green (2008) describe (RED) as first originating from conversations between Bono and former U.S. treasury secretary Robert Rubin. Rubin said the goals of initiatives similar to (RED) are achievable and should not be written off as 'misty-eyed and bleeding-heart'. From this discussion, Bono was inspired to think about marketing social causes. What he determined was that causes need to be marketed the way Nike is marketed. How to secure

sustainable marketing budgets, talent and resources on par with corporate advertising became a priority for Bono. He concluded that 'piggybacking' on private sector structures made the most sense and this is when the idea of (RED) took shape.

Structure of (RED)

Product (RED) was formally launched in 2006 at Davos during the World Economic Forum. A campaign designed by Irish rock star, Bono, and American philanthropist, Bobby Shriver, to combat HIV and AIDS, Product (RED) represents a new frontier in both consumer and corporate social responsibility. Described as a business model rather than a charity this framework hinges on consumption in order for the exchange of 'gift'. Consumers are offered the choice to purchase particular products from existing corporations and a portion of the profit is directed to The Global Fund. Product (RED) is quick to admit that its key to sustainability is its ability to generate profit for partners. Product (RED) calls on corporate organizations around the world to "do well by doing good" (Join RED, 2008). (RED) is billed as an opportunity for the private sector to generate profit, while simultaneously responding to vulnerable populations.

The original Product (RED) Manifesto states:

All things being equal, they are not.

As first world consumers we have tremendous power. What we collectively choose to buy or not to buy can change the course of life and history on this planet.

(RED) is that simple an idea. That powerful. Now, you have a choice.

There are (RED) credit cards, (RED) phones, (RED) shoes, (RED) fashion brands, and no, this does not mean that they are all red in colour. Although some are.

If you buy a (RED) product or sign up for a (RED) service at no cost to you a (RED) company will give some of its profits to buy and distribute anti-retroviral medicine to our brothers and sisters dying of AIDS in Africa.

We believe that when consumers are offered this choice and the products meet their needs they will choose (RED) and when they choose (RED) over non (RED),

then more brands will choose to become (RED) because it makes good business sense to do so and more lives will be saved.

(RED) is not a charity. It is simply a business model. You buy (RED) stuff, we get the money, buy the pills and distribute them. They take the pills, stay alive, and continue to take care of their families and contribute socially and economically in their communities.

If they don't get the pills they die. We don't want them to die. We want to give them the pills. And we can. And, it's easy.

All you have to do is upgrade your choice. (Join Red, 2008)

The more recent (RED) Manifesto says:

Every generation is known for something.

Let's be the one that delivers an AIDS free generation.

We all have tremendous power. What we choose to do or even buy, can affect someone's life on the other side of the world.

Every day, 1,000 babies are born with HIV.

In 2015, that number can get close to zero.

We can stop the transmission of HIV from moms to their babies.

In the fight to eliminate AIDS, 2015 could be the beginning of the end- it's the year we can deliver an AIDS free generation.

(RED) can't accomplish this alone. It will take all of us to get there- governments, health organizations, companies and you.

When you Do The RED Thing, a RED partner will give up some of its profits to fight AIDS.

It's as simple as that.

Be RED. Start the end of AIDS now. (Join Red, 2012)

Corporations are able to 'Join Red' by designating specific products and services as being (RED). For example Apple sells a (RED) iPod and the GAP carries an entire line of (RED) products. A portion of the profit (up to 50% of gross) is then directed to the Global Fund, an international foundation established by Kofi Anan and participating world leaders in 2002.

To date, Product (RED) claims to have generated over \$180 million for the Global Fund, treated more than a million African patients, reached out to 7.5 million people for testing, counseling and other services (Join Red, 2012). The (RED) website states that

100% of funds raised go to treatment rather than (RED) or Global Fund operating costs. The Global Fund, itself, has committed \$22.4 billion to the fight against AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria and estimates that it has saved the lives of approximately 7.7 million people. The Global Fund is a private foundation governed by public and private agencies (Richey and Ponte, 2011). Acting as a funding body and not one of implementation, the Global Fund controls the distribution of resources from a budget second only to the UN, in terms of donor support. In 2010, as Richey and Ponte claim, the fund was active in over 120 countries.

In order to receive support from the Global Fund, countries must have 'country-coordinating mechanisms' in place to provide a preliminary adjudication of applications. Applications are also forwarded to 'technical review panels' that review program criteria and transfer suitable applications to the board of directors for the Global Fund. Resources for the fund come primarily from state-sponsored support mechanisms and only 5% come from private sources (such as RED and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation). Richey and Ponte also share that the Global Fund actually makes an exception for Product (RED) in that it allows this new model to control where the funds go. Normally, donations go into 'the pot' but the fund allows (RED) to target funds to the 'best performing' AIDS and HIV programs in Rwanda, Swaziland, Lesotho, South Africa and Ghana. This accommodation suggests an interest maintaining and fostering relationships with private industry.

The (RED) Network

Founding partners of (RED) were AMEX, Gap, Converse and Armani. Later, Apple and Motorola joined the initiative (although today neither Motorola or Armani are listed as current project partners). There has been some turnover in terms of partners but the network itself has expanded considerably. To give one a sense of how vast this collective has become, current (RED) companies include American Express, Gap, Converse, Apple, Dell, Starbucks, Penfolds, Nike and Bugaboo (Join Red, 2011). Past partners have also included Motorola, Emporio Armani, Hallmark and Windows (Join Red, 2009). In the past, 'Friends of (Red)' have been listed as Vail Film Festival, The Tripwire, Good Magazine and Need Magazine, American Idol, Damien Hirst (and artists who donated to (RED) auction through Sotheby's), recording artists The Killers, The Lancet, Beats by Dr. Dre, Belvedere Vodka, Every Girl Skateboard, Shazam, Solange Azagury- Partidge Jewelry, Timbok2 and RED Nights music events. The language around partnerships keeps changing so currently these former 'friends' are listed, for example as 'Special Editions'. The current 'friend list' has a more organizational focus citing ONE, Malaria No More, Bill and Melinda Gates foundation, Friends of the Global Fight, Care, United Nations Foundation and UNAIDS.

(RED) has also linked up with diverse promotional and organizational partners such as FADER, Google, HBO, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, The Independent, Elle. Vanity Fair, SAY, Thrillist, Yahoo, Tribeca Flashpoint, Sotheby's, Alchemy, BrightRoll, adjug, ooyala, hulu, myspace, radian, sister Cities, MTV, eventful, foursquare, silverpop, Klout, Viacom and StumbleUpon. (RED) names its 'Extended Family' as Friends of the Global Fund Africa, Europe and Japan, The ONE Campaign, DATA, Global Business

Coalition on HIV/AIDS, Friends of the Global Fight, Global AIDS Alliance, UNAIDS, and the United Nations Foundation.

Finally, celebrity endorsers have included Muhammad Ali, Maya Angelou, Warren Buffett, George W. Bush, Don Cheadle, George Clooney, Bill and Melinda Gates, Djimon Hounsou, Iman, Jay-Z, Alicia Keys, Madonna, Barack Obama, Brad Pitt, Queen Rania of Jordan, Condoleezza Rice, Chris Rock, Desmond Tutu, Oprah Winfrey, Common, Joss Stone, Christy Turlington, Scarlett Johanson, Kanye West, Abigail Breslin, Julia Roberts, Elle Macpherson, Natasha Bedingfeld, Penelope Cruz, Steven Spielberg, Jon Bon Jovi, Terence Howard, Anne Hathaway, Wyclef Jean and Natalie Maines-to name a few (Join RED, 2008).

Case Study Selection

The unparalleled celebrity endorsement for this profit driven model was and continues to be astounding. The media attention that naturally followed created such buzz around the (RED) model that it seemed to be a significant case in private sector fundraising. As a result (RED) has become a major focus of the celebrity activism and fundraising literature, therefore it was very useful as an exploratory (Yin, 1993) and primary case because there was a bit of literature building around the model.

Although this was in many ways beneficial, in years since proposing a PhD program of study to York in early 2007 (focusing more exclusively on RED) and the writing of this dissertation (four-six years later) a fair amount of research on Product (RED) had been published. In order to produce truly original research I felt that looking beyond the (RED) campaign was critical. Additionally, once I began to see similar

models emerging my interest shifted from documenting and exploring the (RED) phenomenon to marking a more general shift in fundraising for international development projects. The impact of (RED) and that of the cases to follow were deemed critical to this study.

TOMS

The popular story of Blake Mycoskie's social enterprise TOMS opens in 2002 when he and his sister competed in *The Amazing Race*. The reality show allowed the team to race around the globe, participate in challenges and experience (although in a very limited way) diverse cultures. In 2006, Blake took a vacation from personal projects to travel to Argentina on vacation. While enjoying his stay he was drawn to the local footwear. He felt that the widely worn alpargata (a canvas shoe) might be very popular in America. While he was having these ideas he also happened to come in contact with an American woman who was volunteering for a local shoe drive. This event sought to collect donated footwear and redistribute the shoes to children in need.

Mycoskie, in his book, *Start Something that Matters* (2011) says he was so overwhelmed by seeing firsthand the desperate need for support that he decided to use his entrepreneurial experiences (he had previously been involved in the start-up of four businesses) to address the poverty he witnessed in Argentina. The TOMS website explains that Mycoskie settled on manufacturing shoes for three reasons: 1) prevention from soil-transmitted diseases and the long-term impacts of those illnesses; 2) prevention from wounds, cuts and infection that can arise from walking and playing without footwear; and 3) often youth are unable to attend school if they do not have, what is

considered, proper footwear (TOMS, n.d.). He identified shoes as being directly linked to education, healthcare and overall wellbeing. Mycoskie immediately partnered with a friend from Argentina and began creating networks of shoe suppliers, manufacturers and distributors. He went back to the United States with three duffel bags filled with shoes. The look of the shoe stayed very true to the alpargata design but utilized some untraditional fabric and prints. The name 'TOMS' was selected to represent 'Shoes for Tomorrow'. The idea at the heart of this model is that one can buy a pair of shoes today and a pair will be given to someone in need tomorrow.

Mycoskie showed the shoes to friends, family and retail outlets. Everyone was excited and interested by both the product and the model. Before they could even begin producing a significant volume, the media had picked up on the product and it gained widespread attention. On the day that *The Los Angeles Times* featured TOMS, very early on in the process, 2200 pairs were ordered to the 160 pairs in stock. The demand for TOMS shoes was tremendous but production remained simple (Mycoskie, 2011). The first 10,000 pairs were manufactured in the apartment of Mycoskie. He used this mark as the point at which he, his co-workers, some friends and family would make their first 'shoe drop' in Argentina. The pairs of shoes distributed to those in need are very similar to the ones on the market but they tend to be a unisex, black slip on with a sturdier sole. The black model was chosen because black shoes are a requirement for many school uniforms. Mycoskie describes with great emotion the power of providing shoes, the experience of distributing the footwear and the feeling of having found his 'calling'. The

purpose of his book, *Start Something that Matters* (2011), as the name suggests, is to encourage others to blend entrepreneurial interests with social change.

Structure of TOMS

The business, TOMS, is a for-profit venture partnered with Friends of TOMS, a non-profit subsidiary (which has more public accountability than a corporate foundation). Together, these structures see that surplus is generated and re-distributed in countries around the world. TOMS lists 23 countries in which they have had shoe drops: Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Haiti, Honduras, Peru, Argentina, Mali, Niger, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Zambia, Swaziland, Lesotho, Ethiopia, South Africa, Malawi, Armenia, Mongolia, China and Cambodia. Interestingly, TOMS has also hosted a shoe drop in California. TOMS works with 'Giving Partners' to ensure that giving happens in a responsible and sustainable manner (TOMS, n.d.). The partners assist in identifying communities 'in need', sizing recipients, pre-ordering and re-ordering (as children grow) shoes, combining the shoe drop with larger initiatives so as to maximize the impact, and finally partners evaluate the giving process. The websites notes that although TOMS initially distributed shoes through big 'shoe drop' initiatives now the bulk of their footwear is delivered on an ongoing basis.

Today, TOMS describes the work they do as a 'movement' rather than a business model (TOMS, n.d.). They have given away more than 1,000,000 pairs of shoes, created awareness through 'one day without shoes' events, supported service clubs through universities and internship opportunities for youth. TOMS shoes retail for approximately \$55- \$100 and \$35-\$55 for youth sizes. The line is also supported by toques, scarves, t-

shirts and gift cards. Recently TOMS has expanded to include an eyewear 'giving' model. Sunglasses retail for close to \$135 and when an individual purchases a pair of sunglasses from TOMS a recipient is given medical treatment, eye surgery or a pair of glasses- depending on their specific needs. TOMS continues to grow, shoe designs are evolving and diversifying as new products continue to be added to the line. The company explicitly commits to the ongoing support of children who receive TOMS and endeavours to become active in more countries and regions around the world.

Case Study Selection

As the second sample case, my selection of TOMS came from a very personal and reflective space (Van Den Hoonaard, 2012). The widespread appeal and acceptance made TOMS an interesting case especially given that I, personally, had not experienced any advertising (with the exception of fairly elaborate in-store displays). TOMS was selected because of its tremendous popularity in the face of little to no formal advertising having been detected on my part. All of a sudden, it seemed that York University's campus was populated, primarily, by TOMS wearing students. Shoe stores were filling up with the product and it even generated a controversial 'copycat' line through the shoe retailer Sketchers called BOB's. Without seeing the tag the shoes are indistinguishable and BOB's also operates on a logic of buy one and give one. My feeling, at the time of selection, was that clearly TOMS popularity was peaking. However, the model has continued to grow and diversify and show no sign of decline at this point. To date, TOMS has delivered over 2,000,000 pairs of shoes to children around the world (TOMS, 2012). Something else that intrigued me was that the TOMS model was not entirely unlike

(RED) but critical voices had been emerging around the (RED) model since its earliest days (Ray, 2008; Himmelman & Mupotsa, 2008) and there was very little critique of TOMS in the mainstream media. For these reasons, the lack of formal advertising and absence of critical response (compared to RED) paired with its success and ongoing popularity, TOMS appeared to be a case worth further investigation.

The Canada Collection

On an arguably smaller, or at least less publicized, scale is the Roots Canada, Mastercard and Right to Play partnership entitled the 'Canada Collection'. This initiative generated funds for Right to Play, an international NGO that uses sport and play to contribute to individual and community development. This organization works in regions devastated by war, poverty and disease. Believing that the power of play is critical to the development of children's self esteem, self worth and sense of fairness, Right to Play contributes to the building of safer and healthier communities around the world. This organization is based in Canada and headed by Johann Koss a former Olympian and advocate for youth and athletics.

Originally, Right to Play existed as a fundraising organization entitled Olympic Aid. Funds were directed to projects in regions considered vulnerable and Olympic Aid partnered with implementing agencies such as UNICEF. In 2000 Olympic Aid transitioned into an organization legally and structurally able to implement projects around the world. During the winter Olympics of 2002, a collective of multi-lateral organizations, the IOC (International Olympic Committee), Kofi Annan and Archbishop Desmond Tutu put sport and development on the official agenda of the United Nations.

In 2003 the organization changed its name to Right to Play and it has been estimated that well over one million youth have been impacted by its programming and support.

The origins of this partnership have not been made as visible as (RED) or TOMS. It has been noted that Right to Play's CEO, Koss, met Michael Budmen at the 1994 winter Olympics (Kingston, 2010, March 4). What is most interesting about the pairing is that all three parties- MasterCard, Roots and Right to Play were shut out from any 'Official Olympic Zones' (Kingston, 2010, March 4) during the 2010 Vancouver games. Kingston explains that the IOC (International Olympic Committee) depends on corporate sponsorship for more than 40% of its revenue, the rest comes from broadcasting and ticket sales. Therefore the legal protections for corporate brands are incredibly strict, disciplined and heavily policed. Yet, for companies such as MasterCard or Roots, a failure to be represented at such a critical event is 'not an option' according to MasterCard's advertising agency.

For those who are not official Olympic sponsors much strategy is required. Kingston describes an 11-page document of phrases and imagery trademarked by VANOC (Vancouver Olympic Committee) including 'gold', 'silver' and 'winter'. VANOC also publicly harangued corporations (such as Lululemon) for producing unofficial goods that appeared to be connected to the games such as 'cheer gear', using national colours and imagery. The corporate sponsorship clash, in terms of MasterCard and Roots is somewhat expected but for an organization championing sport and play in countries around the world, such as Right to Play to be excluded seems unusual. The CEO, having been an IOC member, claims that the IOC provided no explanation for this

decision to discontinue the relationship after Right to Play (formerly Olympic Aid) had been active in the games for over a decade. Kingston explains that many people tied official Right to Play supporters and board members to brands directly competing with official VANOC sponsors. For example, Michael Budman, co-founder of Roots sits on the board of Right to Play (Roots has competed against The Hudson Bay Company for Olympic wear contracts), Mitsubishi and MasterCard also have very close relationships with Right to Play.

The triumvirate of Olympic shut-outs, therefore, found themselves in need of finding creative ways to maintain visibility during the 2010 games. This might not be the sole impetus behind the Canada Collection but it very possibly contributed to the formation of the partnership. The Canada Collection clearly provided companies access to some of the Olympic frenzy (in terms of market) but it also provided a space from which the three bodies could participate in the culture of sport, which was consuming the nation leading up the games.

Structure of the Canada Collection

The model is very much like those previously listed, consumers are offered the opportunity to purchase goods from a specific line and a portion of those sales is then directed to a charitable organization. However, the Canada Collection is slightly different in that not only do customers have to choose from select items but they also have to pay for the goods with a MasterCard in order to initiate this chain of 'giving'.

In November of 2009 Roots Canada launched its collaborative line at its flagship store on Bloor Street in Toronto. Elite Canadian athletes, celebrities in the sporting world

and beyond, Jamie Salé, David Pelletier and Adam van Koeverden, supported the partnership. Right to Play Ambassadors (professional and Olympic athletes) modeled the product line. Goods in this line ranged from scarves to hats to hoodies to hockey jerseys to leather goods, all featuring national symbols, imagery and often displaying 'Canada' very prominently. Some goods were further localized such as the Alberta Hoody and the Nunavut t-shirt. The goods were described as follows:

Made largely in Canada, it reflects the passion Roots has for its home country, sports and worthy causes... Given the added dimension of the Canada Collection By Roots, we're particularly proud of it. Our team really rose to the occasion in producing such a winning collection. Their inspiration was even greater, knowing that this collection was going to benefit such an important cause as children in need (*Roots Co-Founder Michael Budman, 2009*)

The initiative was introduced and launched by Roots co-founders Michael Budman and Don Green, President of MasterCard Canada, Kevin Stanton, along with president and CEO of Right to Play Johann Koss. Canadian fashion icon Jeanne Becker and recording artist Drake were also in attendance.

Case Study Selection

Unlike the previous two models, Product (RED) and TOMS, the Canada Collection did have a limited run. The term 'development good' is better suited to ongoing market structures but the Canada Collection was selected for two important reasons. First and foremost, in selecting this case I wanted some Canadian content to implicate 'Canadians' in systems of development that have the potential to exploit and oppress. Sometimes, it is far too easy to look beyond our borders and point fingers. So, I was very intentionally seeking out a Canadian case. Second, the ads were so emotional, engaging and captivating that I found myself absolutely immersed in them when they

would appear. The images and the sounds were so beautiful that I was often left wondering, ‘wait what was that ad for?’ The power of the images really stood out, making it an interesting case in how issues, populations and places are framed. Finally, the Canada Collection was unique because not only was it a relationship between a corporation (Roots Canada) and a charity (Right to Play) but it also partnered with a financial institution (MasterCard Canada) and required that the purchase be made with a specific form of payment. I found this explicit privileging of capital aggressive and uncomfortable. It was reminiscent of CIBC’s Run for the Cure, the power of breast cancer’s pink branding and the aggression of pink philanthropy (King, 2006). That positioning of capital, along with the highly emotional imagery and Canadian content set me on including the Canada Collection as my last sample case study for the development good.

Discussion of the Development Good Cases

The above descriptions of the development good model demonstrate a distinct formation based on the movement of goods and services in the name of international development. Although the fundamentals of the structures are relatively consistent there are several points of discussion from which the models could be compared. Here, issues in the construction of identity, the framing of the gifts, use of celebrity, as well as awards and recognition will be discussed. Together, this dialogue will further sketch the culture and landscape of the development good.

Identity Construction

Kapoor (2007) notes that one of the most significant impacts of 'the gift' in development is the construction of fixed subjectivities. In order for gifts to flow there needs to be a point of origin (donor) and a destination (recipient). As noted in previous chapters there can be fluidity in this process but in order for exchange to occur the donor-recipient positions must be somewhat identifiable. The development good model clearly relies on the cultural power, logic, rhetoric and sentiment of 'giving'. By strategically incorporating notions of giving into acts of consumption the power of the gift to coordinate and shape identity construction is triggered. Furthermore, because this model demands consumer attention the often media heavy marketing campaigns entrench ideas of 'haves' and 'have nots', 'donor' and 'recipient' on a cultural level that has tremendous power. Judith Williamson's text *Decoding Advertisements* (1978) and Sut Jhally's *The Codes of Advertising* (1987) will be especially useful in framing the arguments around advertising for the development good.

In Jhally's (1987) discussion of advertising he says that it is complex because it is suspended in (and one might further argue constructs) relations between people, objects, use-value, the symbolic, power, communication and satisfaction. He says relationships between goods and people have always been an important part of social life but that the emergence of capitalism and late capitalism have disrupted the 'organic' unity between people and their interaction with goods. Advertising, he says, replaces traditional institutions such as religion, community and family in providing meaning and works to create new relationships between individuals and the goods they consume. Raymond

Williams (1980) describes the transformative powers of advertising as a magical system in which traditional sources of satisfaction (outside of capitalist structures) are obscured in favour of commodities that represent that which cannot be purchased- wellness, prestige, position, success and power.

Advertising protects consumption by associating the movement of goods and services with wider cultural values and desires. Williams (1980) describes this as the fantasy of goods. Williamson (1978), too, describes advertising as having the power to create cultural structures of meaning. Although the function of an ad is, obviously, to sell an item ads also seek to create meaning and ensure that goods mean something to consumers. Jhally (1987) explains that advertising has the potential to populate mass media, shape understandings of gender, negotiate parent-child relationships, coordinate the production of needs and desires, perform political strategy and present or create an interface for understanding a society's most powerful cultural institutions. Williamson goes as far as to say that advertising is 'selling us ourselves'. Identities are being shaped and created through the process of, and within the context of, a world heavily mediated by advertising. Therefore how advertisements construct the identities of donors and recipients, (recognizing the shifting nature of these categories) becomes an important point of consideration in further understanding the culture of the development good.

Construction of 'Donors'

The title and language of 'donor' immediately evokes notions of power, resources and position. Gift scholars have long discussed the power of the gift and giving to structure new relationships based on power and difference (Mauss, 1990; Derrida, 1992;

Escobar, 1995; Cheal, 1986). The development gift is not an exception to this rule.

Through Product (RED), TOMS and the Canada Collection, the benefits and prestige of giving are intentionally, and perhaps naturally, built into the very structure of the development good. This section will more deeply explore how the development good models situate and position those that support the gift of the development good.

One of the reasons the development good is so fascinating is that the model relies on joint donorship. Not only do corporations provide financial support but consumers are required to activate the transaction. The funding bodies (Global Fund, Right to Play, Friends of TOMS) are therefore, not only recipients of corporate and consumer support but they occupy the dual role of recipient-donor as they then financially support initiatives around the world. Unlike traditional charitable gifts the fixed 'donor' and 'recipient' subjectivities are disrupted for what might be considered chains of giving or chains of donorship.

Goods and Gifts as Communicators

As noted above, the construction of donor is complex in the development good model. The three case studies have not only taken very different approaches to how the idea of donor is communicated, in terms of marketing, but they have also changed individual strategies along the way. All three models are, however, based on Jhally's (1990) argument that goods are communicators. He proposes that the exchange of information is often mediated by objects and their perceived, even imagined, meaning shapes understanding. Interestingly, Product (RED), Right to Play and TOMS products are consumed conspicuously (Veblen, 1953). They are predominantly wearable, so

consumers have the added bonus of advertising their charitable sensibilities. Logos are featured very prominently to ensure that the brand and the narrative of the brand is clearly communicated.

The development good has the ability to act as a semi-permanent marker of generosity and communicate one's 'do goodedness'. This positions the development good as a sign (Baudrillard, 1981) representing a gift given jointly by the corporation and the consumer to a charitable organization. The symbolic and sign value of the development good within a larger system of signs (commodities not connected directly to charitable causes) transcends both the functional and exchange values of comparable goods as the cultural power of gift is embedded in each transaction. Baudrillard (1996) argues that for many people the sign-value is used to provide fulfillment, in this case the development dimension of the good provides additional meaning. Bourdieu (1977) suggests that the gift (represented by the development good) is also significant in accumulating symbolic capital, prestige and position for the donor or in this case donors. In a campus newspaper, for example, sophomore Natalie Evans says, "If people see TOMS on your feet, they initially think you are a do-gooder" (Evans, 2009, October 14).

Images from the advertising of development goods confirm these arguments. Product (RED) uses the image of American actor Don Cheadle wearing one of the (RED) t-shirts with the text '(ADMIREd)' across the bottom of the page. Although the transmission and construction of meaning in any text creates multiple, overlapping and even contradictory interpretations (Williamson, 1978) it can easily be argued that (RED), together with the GAP, is implying that others will think highly of this purchase (and the

gift it facilitates), attributing charitable and generous characteristics to the consumer. This speaks directly to Bourdieu's (1977) notion of symbolic capital.

With a similar logic, TOMS has circulated an ad that plays with the idea of their shoe as 'increasing performance' because there is 'more than one way to be a superstar'. The Nordstrom ad for TOMS states that 'you are anything but ordinary, so why settle for boring shoes...Express yourself, and give a little too'. These ads focus on what the brand does for the consumer, the elevated 'superstar' position they create as well as how they define the consumer. The second example explicitly marginalizes the gift as an after thought. Under the logo is the phrase 'express your sole'. TOMS is clearly embracing the ability of its product to communicate meaning and act as a sign (Baudrillard, 1981) for the consumer in relation to the construction of one's identity.

Advertising, Identity and Salvation

The general positioning and sentiment of aid provider as savior is not uncommon (Kapoor, 2008). However, current models of foreign assistance, such as bi-lateral and multi-lateral aid, tend to refrain from making explicit claims around salvation. Sidestepping the colonial implications of such cries, changes in cultural awareness and international diplomacy expect that aid 'donors' be slightly more subtle (even though nations such as Canada have historically been built on myths of salvation and aid) making the current rhetoric of partnership more typical today (Brinkerhoff, 2002). The private sector, on the other hand, is not bound by the same cultural and political subtleties. Furthermore, because the development good model demands direct individual 'buy-in' (compared to state led aid) the need to entice and attract consumers imports capitalistic

logic. This shift to a for-profit model attempts to 'sell' development outcomes to the individual consumer as marketing incentive. As a result, the advertising of campaigns such as (RED), Canada Collection and TOMS, at times, assume and communicate an explicitly neo-colonial message of salvation and aid. In fact, in 2007 the (RED) campaign introduced an Impact Calculator. This application enabled consumers to select items for purchase and calculate the impact, the number of lives saved. Interesting and not at all surprising, this feature is no longer available on the (RED) website.

There is also a redemptive dimension to this model as ads have stated, 'we are the people we've been waiting for', 'sinners make the best saints' and 'can clothes change the world?' (Join Red, 2008). Again, this casts the consumer in the role of redeemer but nods at the fact that (RED) provides an opportunity for the somewhat unlikely 'savior'. By noting the past 'sins' of donors, the model also acknowledges the oppressive elements of wider cycles of extraction, production, distribution, consumption and disposal within mass consumer culture. (RED) is put forward as a place to repent or atone within the capitalist system. This extends the theme of salvation, in that consumers are not just 'saving' the aid recipients but they are also, in a sense, asking forgiveness for their own transgressions.

Similarly to (RED)'s advertising strategies, Right to Play, the Canada Collection's charitable partner, often plays with images of child soldiering and violence causing consumers to make the linkages between the impact of Right to Play and the life threatening potential waiting for youth (should Right to Play and the consumer not intervene). Examples of such ads include a crumbling wall with a series of bullet holes

that are eventually replaced by the imprints of soccer balls. The only text on the image is the Right to Play logo. Another ad says 'giving kids the chance to be kids' showing a soccer ball in a desert with two machine guns as goal posts. A popular online video for Right to Play shows a young boy loading a gun, his face is stern. The camera cuts to children lined up- a colorless black and white shot. The scene seems to be leading to an execution as the camera cuts back and forth between the gun, the bullets and the children.

The voiceover for the commercial describes war as a part of everyday life for children all over the world who are recruited as child soldiers. The viewer next hears a shot that turns out to be a starter pistol signaling a race between youth. What these videos have in common is that they attempt to create an idea of what life without Right to Play's intervention would look like and how Right to Play changes that outcome. The creation of narrative provides a story and creates a myth (Williamson, 1978) around the impact of 1) chains of response initiated by consumption of the development good as well as 2) the effects of not engaging in the development good model. Using images of weapons, isolation and violence against scenes of joy and play, the organization is situating itself as providing a lifesaving intervention by protecting youth from a lifetime of brutal violence.

Goods, Gifts, Codes and Cool

TOMS shoes is definitely less explicit in their claims of salvation and far less sensational about the outcome for children who do not receive their support. Even though it too depends on consumer awareness and interest, the advertising strategy has focused on word of mouth (through campus clubs) and social media rather than dominant media campaigns and glossy print magazine spreads. The company's very active social media

campaign sees its very simple 'One for One' message circulated by those wear and appreciate the product. As noted above, the product garnered great media attention before ever being publicly released. Top style and consumer media immediately profiled TOMS and therefore the need to create buzz (as with previous models) didn't exist in the same way.

The brand and its story seemed to have legs of their own. The lack of official advertising created a much more subtle process of messaging around the goods. What emerged was a casual approach where consumers were positioned as 'in the know' and 'part of the movement'. This is very much aligned with Jhally's (1987) position that goods act as markers or codes of social categories. Images of people wearing the shoe seemed to be trying to create a very laid back 'hipster LA vibe'. The 2012 catalogue, circulated via email and on the website, creates feelings of warm, laid back California living. The campaigns link notions of responsibility with being trendy and socially conscious but there is also a feeling of exclusivity. One might argue the campaigns seek to 'cool' issues of care. They don't seem to be selling a cause or aggressively marketing an appeal but have simply incorporated TOMS into day- to- day living. Buying into TOMS feels more like embracing an entire lifestyle than purchasing a product and the consumer, by association, is branded as 'cool', maybe even counter-consumer culture.

National Identity

The Canada Collection employed quite a different strategy compared to TOMS and (RED). Whereas those companies attempted to create global appeal, the Canada Collection was a national campaign. The Roots Canada, MasterCard and Right to Play

partnership placed a great deal of significance on national identity. The clothing line is actually called the Canada Collection (products tend to highlight national colours, symbols, flags), the general ads include flags from partner countries and the Canadian flag is often featured quite prominently at media events. Where Product (RED) targeted consumers in a more general sense (although there seems to be an emphasis on youth and trend consciousness), the Canada Collection targeted the consumer by adding a dimension of national identity. In 2002, 71% of Canadians surveyed responded that foreign aid is an important part of Canada's global responsibilities, particularly in the area of poverty reduction (Harris & Manning, 2007). Therefore, construction of the 'donor' is bound up in the myth of the 'generous' nation and the 'giving' nation (Kapoor, 2008). Just as building the 'good', the 'generous' and the 'charitable' country (through aid) becomes a source of national pride and position within the global order, wearing these Canada Collection items extends the sentiment to the individual consumer.

The collection, like (RED) and TOMS, is structured around Baudrillard's (1981) view of goods as communicators. The 'donor' is constructed as more of a national and global citizen than simply a consumer (although this binary is problematic). There is almost a dual and overlapping construction of the 'charitable' and the 'patriotic' citizen and corporation¹. The Canada Collection's advertising existed primarily through a one-minute television commercial that aired frequently during the lead-up to the 2010 Vancouver Olympics. This allowed partners to capitalize on holiday shopping as well as

¹ It should be noted that the timing of this campaign is very significant. Launched just prior to the Vancouver Olympics, the use of national identity and sport were particularly powerful marketing incentives.

the games. The commercial is a series of scenes featuring youth playing soccer under the sun and in the rain accompanied by music from a youth choir. The teams appear to have little more than a ball and a whistle but the joy of playing is what seems to be communicated. The spot frames the gifts of the development good as self esteem, sense of belonging, role models and play (which is described as priceless but the company does put a price on it through the development good). The narrator ask consumers to 'help give kids around the world a chance to play' this holiday season. The last scene shows a young person, in Canada it seems, going off to play ice, field or street hockey wearing clothes from the Canada Collection. A gentle comparison is set up between the equipment and resources for sport available to the athlete/consumer in Canada versus the recipient of Right to Play support in an unnamed African country (although the video was actually shot in Soweto).

The use of nation is specific to the Canada Collection. Bono and (RED) have played on abstract ideas of first and third world populations, Western nations, developed and underdeveloped countries creating a sense of 'us-them' but never really ties the model to particular nations (which makes sense as RED is comprised of several global brands). TOMS is an interesting case in this respect because although it has been active on a global scale, TOMS has also hosted a shoe drop in California. This example of the development good then disrupts popular notions of that us-them dichotomy by acknowledging the need for assistance within the bounds of the nations well as beyond.

'Caring' Corporations, Commodities and Capital

The three campaigns are similar in that they all center on positioning the consumer and corporate partners as charitable and virtuous. One must remember that as these advertisements are all reviewed, each one constructs and re-constructs the corporation through discourses of care and responsibility. Just as the identity of the consumer is shaped by wearing or using items, the corporation, too, is branded for their hand in the development good. One must also remember these items are often fetishized (Marx, 1990; Jhally, 1987) and completely stripped of social and political context. Rather than representing development as a site of postcolonial struggle, development and the consumption of the development good appear to perform an emancipatory act for the 'consumer' (who no longer has to bear the burden of consumer guilt), the corporation (who has re-articulated its relationship with the Global South from one of exploitation to liberation) and the recipient (freed from the limitations of poor health outcomes). In the end, the donor is constructed as virtuous, charitable and responsible. One might go so far as to say that the consumer also appears, superficially, to be politically engaged as a global activist, as the model is billed a form of humanitarian response. The position of prestige provided by the development good builds a particular power structure that reproduces colonial sensibilities and this neo-colonial dynamic equally impacts recipient populations.

Gavin Fridell, speaking to fair trade movement in coffee production, writes that "consumers are not engaged in a democratic process with southern producers [or in this case, it could be argued, with recipients of aid] but rather remain atomized individuals directly unaffected by the social and political outcomes of their market

decisions” (2007, p.17). Populations remain disconnected and the relationships between consumers and those considered to benefit from these consumer options are fully mediated by market structures. Simply purchasing coffee meeting ‘fair trade’ requirements or buying a development good is not necessarily an act of solidarity (although often presented in such a manner) as it perpetuates the system that produced the injustice it is meant to correct. These consumer choices framed as ‘ethical’ and ‘fair’ (acknowledging that they shouldn’t all be lumped together) have the potential to produce a dangerous but convenient mythology around consumption that clearly advances the interests of capital.

Construction of ‘Recipient’

Just as gift theorists identified the privilege that often accompanies being the donor of a gift, being on the receiving end of such a gesture also comes with positioning (Mauss, 1990; Derrida, 1992; Ferguson & Ferguson, 1987; Cheal, 1988). Unfortunately recipients of philanthropic and charitable gifts are often stigmatized as ‘lacking’ and deficient. Discourses of irresponsibility, incapability and helplessness are embedded in ideas of charity. The development good, once again, reproduces the stigma associated with the politics of the gift and because of its reliance on advertising, the development good circulates these discourses on a global scale.

Cottle and Nolan (2007) propose that current media logic has exploited images of vulnerable populations to the point that consumers of dominant media are exposed to a ‘pornography of suffering’. Sensational and shocking images are understood to be becoming evermore necessary in securing vital media coverage given today’s media

climate. The development good, however, relies on diverse strategies in the production of meaning. Unlike many aid and development advertising campaigns, images of Product (RED)'s 'recipients' rarely appear in the ads. Ray (2008) notes that initially, this might seem like progress in terms of representation. However, she further argues, (RED)'s unwillingness to profile images of people deemed in need may also be sign of a growing 'Afro pessimism' in Western popular culture. She argues that Africa has already been successfully branded a crippled continent and therefore such images will provide no further meaning. Jere-Malanda (2006) would agree with Ray. She argues that in the dominant media, poverty is becoming an African phenomenon, often confusing cultural conceptions of living simply and sustainable "off the land" with deprivation. This plays into the mythologizing of modernization and hegemonic understandings of progress that continue to plague non-Western nations and communities that have the potential to oppress and exploit.

(RED)'s Recipients

Where the 'recipients' of (RED) are prominently featured is on the (RED) website (Join Red, 2009). There is a particular narrative that has followed Product (RED) since its launch, the story of Lazarus (invoking Christian beliefs by alluding to a story from the Gospel of John in which Jesus raises a man from the dead). 'The Lazarus Effect' initially appeared as a slide show with statistical data and images of three people, Silvia, Nigel, Elimas, infected by HIV/AIDS. It featured before and after photos for patients who have been prescribed anti-retroviral medication through Product (RED). The pictures of Silvia,

Nigel and Elimas are similar in that the before pictures are in black and white and show the subjects alone, desperately thin, ill, appearing lost and staring off into space.

The after pictures, on the other hand, are in colour, the subjects look strong and are participating in the community, caring for their children and families. Then, more recently, a documentary was produced in partnership with Product (RED), HBO Documentary Films, Anonymous Content and directed by Lance Bangs. This work is a more in-depth examination the processes behind securing pharmaceuticals, distributing medications and the resulting personal transformations of patients diagnosed with HIV and AIDS. By using the Christian story of Lazarus, consumers are framed as prophet and savior, positioning aid recipients as helpless individuals waiting to be 'saved' by foreign interventions. This film plays into many of the romantic development myths that perpetuate the flow of aid. It also facilitates a post-colonial understanding of relationships that are completely decontextualised. The structural, political, institutional and economic factors contributing to poverty and poor health outcomes are never addressed. Admittedly, it is difficult to contextualize issues of poverty within the scope of a television advertisement, however, that does not make the messaging any less problematic.

Nowhere is the positioning of 'donor' and 'recipient' made more explicit than in one of the rare Product (RED) ads featuring an aid 'recipient'. An advertisement for MasterCard entitled 'My Card, My Life' pairs the supermodel Gisele Bundchen (RED donor) with Maasai herdsman Keseme Ole Parsapaet (recipient). They stand against a plain grey background smiling into the camera. Gisele is outfitted in a red couture gown

waving her (RED) MasterCard in the air and she has her arm around Keseme who is wearing very traditional dress. The only text that appears on the page are the words 'my card' above Gisele and 'my life' over Keseme. The reader is expected to draw the lines between the purchase of a (RED) product and the distribution of life-saving medical treatment. A shocking degree of equivalence is set up between the purchase and the life, as though a luxury expenditure by one is needed to justify the salvation of the other. Once again the 'donor' is framed as savior.

The 'recipient' in these ads, represented here by Keseme Ole Parsapaet, is very much positioned as 'other' in terms of gender, race and culture. Interestingly, the recipient as shown in the advertisement, is also clearly appreciative and approving of this foreign response, embracing the model. He appears to not be offended by the exchanges set in motion (a gown for medical treatment), which could be taken as an attempt to legitimize or provide consent for the initiative. The recipient, as a result, is framed as requiring western intervention through consumption. This plays into problematic discourses of helplessness and dependency that have emerged through the development industry (Escobar, 1995). In both of the above cases, recipients are framed as helpless and potentially lifeless without the intervention of (RED). Williamson (1978) argues that advertising is in its prime when it sets up goods as creating that which money cannot buy. The force and pull of the development good is very clear as it promises to prevent premature death and disease amongst those considered most vulnerable.

Canada Collection's Recipients

Unlike Product (RED), Canada Collection advertisements and media spots regularly profile the 'recipients' of assistance. The weight of the ads is placed on images of youth playing in large and organized groups. Commercials highlight the value of self-esteem, a sense of belonging, role models and fun. The youth (girls and boys) tend to be in team jerseys, some wear shoes, some go barefoot. A red soccer ball is included in many of the shots, this ball is an extension of the organization's logo. Their media strategy seems to not be interested in producing 'pornography of suffering' but rather to profile joy. This joy, however, is portrayed as being made possible and facilitated by (as the red ball with the logo reminds the viewer) the Canada Collection partnership.

The text in the MasterCard ad lays out meaning and worth of self-esteem with a soccer ball (\$9), sense of belonging through uniforms (\$12) and role models through the whistle (\$6) but reminds that the true value play is priceless. Advertising uses notions of absence to create meaning (Williamson, 1978). There seems to be an implicit assumption that joy, play, self-esteem and a sense of belonging did not exist in the selected communities (one of which was Soweto the other remain unnamed) prior to the aid intervention. Oddly, when you watch the Youtube video on the making of the commercials, the viewer is told that the children featured in the advertisements are actually sourced using local youth centres, community leaders and orphanages. This, particularly the existence of youth centres, indicates an existing infrastructure devoted to child development. By ignoring the existing supports and any representations of community beyond Right to Play sport, the campaign constructs a distorted image of the 'recipient' population based on deficit.

Another Right to Play print advertisement asks the reader, 'love cheering for the underdog? Have we got a team for you'. The image is a black and white photo, profiling approximately 20 youth lined up against a concrete wall. The children are wearing no uniforms, a few of the girls are wearing dresses and some are wearing no shoes. The finer print explains that organizations, such as Right to Play, are bringing sport and play to children around the world and that these opportunities provide lessons in teamwork, health and self-respect. The text closes by offering that this might account for the 'biggest comeback in sports history'. This advertisement plays on assumptions around 'haves' and 'have-nots' and suggests that, logically, this team would not be expected to be successful. But why not? There is an embedded power dynamic in this text. By referring to the 'biggest comeback in history' the ad is actually widening the perceived gulf between 'donors' and 'recipients'.

Once again, Jere-Malanda (2006) notes there is confusion between what it means to live simply and what it means to be poor. The reader is expected to decode the image as again representing deficiency because the youth are not equip with the jerseys, shoes and gear often associated with sport culture. The advertisement ignores existing cultural practices of sport and play and states, 'in Africa children born into poverty, war and disease are turning their lives around with the help of Right to Play, an organization that brings sport and play to kids around the world'. This strategy is problematic in that it imposes a Western/Northern/foreign construction of 'play' and 'sport' on local communities and emphasizes a very narrow and stereotypical portrayal of African communities as plagued by war, disease and poverty.

Similarly, the advertisement for Right to Play with the starter pistol described previously is playing Northern/Western media stereotypes of African youth (Aidwatch, 2010). By manipulating images of play and racing to create images that are likely interpreted as violence and soldiering the association reproduces and circulates very negative frames. Yes, like many other regions of the world, there is extreme poverty in parts of Africa. Children are forced into military service in Africa, as they are in many locations around the globe. However, the Canada Collection's advertising keeps these particular and problematic representations of Africa in the dominant media. They are consistently presented, as Jere Malanda (2006) noted, as an almost uniquely African phenomenon. This flow of information controls and reproduces the imagery of poverty, disease and violence in connection with the culture of African communities.

TOMS's Recipients

The advertising for TOMS stands out in the field of development communications. Although it is not without problems, it appears to be a slightly less exploitative framing of people and places. For the most part, advertisements simply profile the shoe and the shoes worn in what appears to be an American setting or landscape. The ads and supporting materials that sometimes feature recipients, show several bare feet in dirt streets, walking over rocks and trying to play. Rough terrain is often included in shots. The need for shoes is clearly demonstrated by evoking the idea of absence (Williamson, 1978). The children, however, do not seem to be lacking in community or family. Youth are often depicted in groups having fun. Children are dressed in bright colours, look relatively well-fed and content. This is not to say that the

communities profiled aren't severely impacted by poverty but that the advertising is, in some respects, more progressive in how it profiles recipients.

Compared to the strategies described by Cottle and Nolan (2007) as a 'pornography of suffering', TOMS attempts to balance need with the richness and complexity of communities. Perhaps TOMS is guilty of simplifying the issues down to a simple lack of footwear and ignoring the larger structural underpinnings of poverty but at the end of the day the violent, static, colourless imagery of so many charitable fundraising initiatives is not reproduced, slightly reframing notions of what it means to be 'in need'. Many ads do feature Blake Mycoskie or a TOMS volunteer actually putting a shoe on the foot of a child in need. The children are usually of colour and the representative from TOMS in the ads tend to be white so that 'white saviour industrial complex' (Cole, 2012, March 21) is still very much alive but it feels far less explicit than in the telethon imagery described by Jefferies (2002). Recipients do not appear as simply living a life of misery but living a much more full and complex life. Shoes are framed as a very pragmatic and logical intervention but the impact of having shoes or the reality of not having shoes is not sensationalized in the same way as Product (RED).

What further disrupts traditional global constructs of 'haves' and 'have nots' is that TOMS has also engaged in shoe drops (distribution of shoes through existing social infrastructure) in the US as well. On the TOMS website (TOMS, n.d.) a partnership with National Relief Charities is described as facilitating the distribution of shoes on Native American reservations. When one looks at the map of countries in which TOMS is active, the bubble that appears to be in Southern California. This does, indeed, disrupt the global

south- global north distinction but it maintains and reproduces social distances between consumer and recipient in a new way, within American boundaries.

The Violence of Negative Framing

Williamson (1978) argues that through the process of appellation (or interpellation) advertisements call out to the consumer as a subject. They construct the 'person one wants to be' and by constructing the development good as 'ethical' and 'socially conscious' the ads create the consumer as a global citizen. The advertisements promote an intervention into the lives of those positioned as in need and at the same time forms an intervention for consumers feeling alienated in global markets. Through identification with the rhetoric of development, consumers are sold development goods but equally important they are sold (transformed through transaction) globally responsible versions of themselves. As noted above, a campaign that frames the consumer as performing an 'emancipatory' act, in turn, positions specific populations as in need of saving. This might seem trivial in relation to the impact of securing HIV/AIDS medication (as an example) but the impact of widespread media framing in a development context needs to be fully considered.

Visser's (2008) link between the politics of gifts, giving and freedom is interesting considered with Foucault's (1977) position that visibility is a trap. If 'giving' infringes on freedom, and most gift scholars would agree in that it does set up very specific power relations in the construction of 'donor' and 'recipient' (Mauss, 1990; Derrida, 1992), then the media spectacle of the development good performs these relations on a global stage. Foucault's suggestion that visibility is a trap becomes paramount. Populations become

trapped in the subjectivities constructed by media campaigns, in terms of how they are perceived by foreign populations.

A good example of this trapping might be Bob Geldof's 1985 Live Aid concerts in support of Ethiopian famine relief (Tenove, 2007). Communications technologies enabled live images of hunger and starvation to be transmitted to over 1.5 billion viewers. The faces of drought-affected families have remained in the consciousness of people around the world. Tamene Tiruneh, an environmental advisor for Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), explains that Ethiopia is actually a very wet country and has tremendous economic potential. While he is "grateful to Geldof for helping to feed so many hungry people, no one ever forgets those pictures. They think that Ethiopia is a barren place" (p. 52). The country struggles to secure grants from lending agencies, attract tourists and foreign development as a result of the widespread drought footage. For this reason Foucault's position that 'visibility is a trap' is fascinating because Ethiopia's potential has really been held hostage by images from twenty years ago, that were, primarily, captured and disseminated by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (Tenove, 2007).

The messaging and images discussed here are not so different from coverage of the Ethiopian famine. Discourses of helplessness, need and desperation continue to frame appeals for support. The ads selected for this discussion repeatedly construct neocolonial ideas of salvation, positioning consumers as 'savior' and recipients as in need of saving. The ads use that position of power to tempt and entice. On the other hand, very little agency was ascribed to African populations, suggesting an absolute inability to act or

mobilize. The cultural impact of this framing might be difficult to measure or account for but it reproduces very old colonial sensibilities that further enable exploitation and oppression.

Framing of the Gift

The way the gift is discussed and positioned is a rich area to interrogate. Gifts are highly political and invoke power relations (Visser, 2008). Therefore, the fact that the development good is officially and unofficially framed as a gift and discussed as a gift creates an interesting dynamic. The following sections will explore the framing of the gift through the three development good case studies.

Product (RED)'s Gift- Commodity Status

Product (RED) released a manifesto along with its product lines. It states, “(RED) is not a charity. It is simply a business model. You buy (RED) stuff, we get the money, buy the pills and distribute them. They take the pills, stay alive, and continue to take care of their families and contribute socially and economically in their communities. If they don’t get the pills they die. We don’t want them to die. We want to give them the pills. And we can. And, it’s easy” (Join RED, 2008). Here, (RED) is intentionally not overly sentimentalized but discussed very rationally as a simple transaction that creates a gift. Bono, co-founder of (RED) has publicly stated, “Philanthropy is like hippy music, holding hands. Red is more like punk rock, hip hop, this should feel like hard commerce,” (Weber, 2006, January 26).

(RED) is presented as a pure market response to select HIV/AIDS impacted regions of Africa. An example is the December 2nd, 2006 blog entry that urges holiday

shoppers, “With the new (RED) Impact Calculator, find out the ways that your (RED) purchases could impact people's lives in Africa! Tell your friends and family about your (RED) Impact with customizable (RED) Impact holiday cards that you can print and send”. The feeling of transaction overshadows the process as early advertising emphasized how the transaction would create a gift and impact the consumer. Advertising was further characterized by an excessive use of celebrity, calls to be ‘selfish and selfless’, ‘ a good looking Samaritan’, ‘admired’ and ‘desired’ were followed up with ads that said ‘sinners make the best saints’. The gift, through this model was consistently framed as a consumer choice and as a purely market driven solution.

Although (RED), initially, embraced a very calculated and economic approach to the development good model it seems that (RED) slowly converted to much more emotionally charged rhetoric. The more recent (RED) manifesto released this year has clearly changed in tone, “Every generation is known for something. Let’s be the one that delivers an AIDS free generation...(Red) can’t accomplish this alone. It will take all of us to get there- governments, health organization, companies and you” (Join RED, 2012). The language shifts from a very cool almost scientific or process driven description to a more passionate call for collective action. This approach drifts more into the territory of civil society than capital. (RED)’s early (2006-2007) advertising predominately featured celebrities and had a distinctly superficial feel, a market-driven feel. One might argue that this heightened the buzz around the model but it stands in stark contrast to the current images of (RED). The initiative’s home page is covered with slogans to ‘fight for an

AIDS free generation by 2015’, ‘world AIDS day panel- watch here’, ‘2015 AIDS quilt’ and pictures of recipients, medications and maps of impacted areas (Join Red, 2011).

This is interesting as it demonstrates a very real shift in the framing of the gift through the (RED) model. Early advertising seemed to be trying to attract the consumer based on consumer appeal and logic. The campaign centered on what (RED) can do for the consumer (social capital, prestige, association with celebrity) but the more recent campaigns emphasize the social and political dimensions of HIV/AIDS. As the Manifesto (Join Red, 2012) states, it takes everyone, markets, states and civil society whereas the earlier Manifesto (Join Red, 2008) placed responsibility on the market alone. Framing of the gift moves from a consumer- market response to a social and cultural process, somewhat politicizing the gift.

Strategic Erasure of the Commodity in Favour of Gift

TOMS, from the beginning, has situated the work it does as a ‘movement’ rather than a business model and frames its gifts in this manner. The language around movement implies a social movement, rather misleading as TOMS is a for-profit venture. Yes, TOMS has initiated a ‘one for one’ model but this is a part of TOMS business strategy. To assume TOMS can stand in for, or replace, social movements confuses the basic logic of civil society and capital. TOMS has been more aggressive in its use of the gift model than Product (RED) and Canada Collection. In his book *Start Something That Matters* (2011), Mycoskie, founder of TOMS says, “TOMS has been successful precisely because we have created a new model. The giving component of TOMS makes our shoes more than a product. They’re part of a story, a mission and a movement anyone can join”

(p.19). He later adds, “giving may be the best investment you’ll ever make” (p. 20).

Clearly Mycoskie attributes much of TOMS success to its incorporation of the gift, as a result much of the TOMS advertising and messaging is articulated around the ‘buy one, give one’ message.

Email correspondence from TOMS social media campaign since December 2010 frequently includes as its subject line phrases such as: the colour of giving; see what it means to give the gift of joy; giving the gift of sight; giving dignity; giving protection; it’s giving that counts; and, gifts as gifts (personal correspondence). Mycoskie admits that his business model hinges on the act of giving so the idea of gift is what drives this product.

What is concealed by the gift is that it likely costs less than \$5 to make a pair of TOMS. TOMS is profiting from the extreme mark up on the consumer’s shoe. This is like an extravagant consumer tax applied by the corporation in the name of charity. It is the consumer who is donating to children around the world not TOMS. Without the gift the business model would likely not have existed, Mycoskie himself credits the gift with his success. TOMS excessive dialogue around the gift and giving employs the language, rhetoric and sentiment of philanthropy and social movements. TOMS shoes are consistently framed as representing a social movement and like the more recent (RED) advertising, elements of the market are erased in favour of the politics of development. The emotion and currency of philanthropy and development are clearly very powerful motivators in terms of the market. Seeing that (RED) swiftly moved from overtly marketing to consumer vanity to focusing on the impact and objectives in relation to

treatment, suggests and confirms the pull of 'development' in engaging individuals as citizen and consumers.

Gifting and Reward

TOMS places so much social currency in the gift and the event of the gift that it actually uses the act of giving and the shoe drop as further market incentive. Consumers can enter their name in a draw and every week someone is selected to accompany TOMS staff and volunteers on a mission to distribute shoes. The March 31st email update from TOMS read "Congratulations Mimi! Get ready to see just how far your purchase goes on this once-in-a-lifetime giving adventure in the vibrant country of Honduras". This practice is becoming more and more popular. In 2009 Cadbury Canada created a contest in which consumers could enter their UPC on the company's website. With each entry part of a virtual bicycle was created, which is where the competition's name came from- The Bicycle Factory. Cadbury ran the contest from spring to fall and in the end 5000 bicycles were distributed in Ghana. From the online submissions, one lucky contestant was invited to joining representatives from Cadbury in delivering the bicycles to Ghana. The power, celebration and cultural value of the gift is so great that the act of giving does not only create symbolic capital but appears to act as reward in itself. Like the Bicycle Factory, TOMS' shoe drops allow the individual to directly participate in the exchange and event of the gift.

The Product (RED) blog, on August 31, 2010, also highlighted an opportunity for an individual to travel to Lesotho. The Global Fund held a competition to gain signatures for an online petition for 'Born HIV Free'. The person to secure the most online

signatures received the trip to Lesotho to visit one of the Global Fund's programs in the fight against HIV/AIDS. The travel to foreign destinations as reward evokes the discourses of poverty tourism (Rolfes, 2009). Although poverty tourism often describes the process of visiting squatter settlements and areas defined as slums (particularly in India and Brazil), that same feeling of spectacle is evoked by the granting of trips to visit countries and regions framed as developing. The politics of development, the politics of philanthropy and the politics of globalization all seem to be concealed in these discussions of the development good.

In addition to creating a spectacle around the transfer of philanthropic 'gifts', these travels are a strategy used to further legitimize the gift. Websites and blogs for the development good models are decorated with countless consumer testimonials. Travelers perform the function of the witness in substantiating the claims of development organization. Therefore the trip to affected regions, which is situated as reward, also provides a response to consumer criticism and suspicions around the impact of the development good. By celebrating and including the consumer in the event of giving, the gift is further mythologized erasing the politics of exchange.

Use of Celebrity

From a hyper-commercialized stand point, Kronig (2006) highlights two critical developments in media representation, simplification and sensationalism. Efforts to increase ratings in a fragmented and diverse market have led to the 'simplification' of programming in an attempt to secure optimal ratings. News coverage has been

transformed into shocking headlines, political scandals, celebrity updates and catchy sound bites. Kronig maintains:

Democracy and civil society need informed citizens; otherwise, they will find it difficult to survive. Without media aware of their own power and responsibility, an informed citizenship cannot be sustained. What democracies have got today, to a considerable extent is an electorate that is highly informed about entertainment, consumer goods and celebrities, while being disinterested and/or deeply cynical about politics. (P. 20)

Similarly, Bracci (2003) notes that a critical flaw in the production and circulation of news coverage is that it exists in a context based on market logic, which never really accounts for the democratic function of information. The rise and commercial success of entertainment programming and celebrity news creates a drift away from democratic information (the social, political and cultural knowledge necessary for engagement). This shift, targets the popular at the expense of the problematic.

The commodification of information exchange is further evidenced in the practices of leading humanitarian agencies around the world (Cottle & Nolan, 2007).

Due to aggressive funding guidelines, scarcity of program support and a shrinking pool of government funds organizations have had to become particularly aggressive in order to make their voices heard and their causes visible. Resources are often diverted away from frontline work and directed towards sophisticated and costly communication practices. One of the most effective strategies, in terms of shifting the media spotlight has been to secure high profile celebrity activists. The use of celebrity in philanthropic fundraising has been well established (Cashmore, 2006; Cooper, 2008; Marshall, 2007). McCracken (2005) explains, “the celebrity world is one of the most potent sources of cultural meaning at the disposal of the marketing system and the individual consumer” (p.113).

Marketers and public relations firms have long capitalized on the influence and persuasive properties attached to celebrity. Naturally, this power has been imported into functioning of the state and civil society and has been for some time. For this reason the blurring of celebrity, politics and activism is by no means a new phenomenon.

The Evolution of Celebrity Advocacy

Cooper (2008) reminds that comedic actor Danny Kaye, in 1965, was invited to be the first goodwill ambassador for UNICEF. The English actor, Sir Peter Ustinov, also held this position. Both traveled extensively and promoted the work and value of UNICEF programming. Audrey Hepburn is famous for her humanitarian work and direct experience in war affected regions. Living under Nazi occupation and receiving support from the UN Relief and Rehabilitation program made her a natural fit for the goodwill ambassador program. Hepburn's professional and compassionate response to crises enabled her to secure access to leaders, diplomats and the media. A fellow goodwill ambassador, Roger Moore, is quoted as saying, "they only wanted to talk about movies but she would not let them...she kept on the issues that were facing children then and which still face children today" (Cooper, 2008, P. 20). While they were effective in turning media attention to issues of disaster and humanitarian aid, these traditional celebrity spokespeople are currently considered to be more aligned with 'model global citizens' rather than transformative activists. Their position within the UN was one of conformity rather than criticism and change. This is not to denigrate the valuable work of early celebrity activists but to highlight the shift toward a more politicized approach to activism.

Huddart describes the shift in celebrity activism as being divided up into four somewhat distinct phases (2005). Prior to the 1960s celebrities tended to become involved in only the safest of causes. Events such as the two world wars and anti-communist witch hunts deterred individuals (with the exception of Paul Robeson and Woody Guthrie) from critical action. The first wave was organized around the US civil rights movement. Inspired by Martin Luther King, artists such as Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, Harry Belafonte, Marlon Brando and Burt Lancaster became active. The public is said to have found comfort in those familiar faces. The second wave of celebrity involvement was a reaction to the Vietnam War and the American draft of the mid 1960s. The third wave followed in response to changing global concerns, environmental disasters, famine, political struggles/oppression and nuclear arms. This particular wave featured an onslaught of images from around the world coupled with mass concert benefits. The 'Live Aid' performance promoted by Irish musician, Bob Geldof, and the recording of '*Do they know it's Christmas?*' were products of this shift in response and are credited with changing the face of humanitarian aid.

While the utilization of celebrity is not new, the prevalence and visibility of celebrity activists has increased dramatically as a result of pressure to secure a place in the dialogue, on the part of aid organizations and multilateral agencies. Madame Louise Frechatte, the first United Nations Deputy Secretary-General explains that Kofi Annan while acting as UN Secretary-General, believed that "the UN can only gain from being better known and understood by the general public. He also knew that celebrities are sometimes better placed than politicians to convey particular messages and that pop

singers can preach AIDS prevention with young people in a way that no public official ever can” (Cooper, 2008, VII). Alfred Ironside, a UNICEF spokesperson confirms this by stating, “celebrities are absolutely critical to everything UNICEF does. They can open doors and people will listen to what they are able to say” (CNN, 2005).

Richey and Ponte (2006) insist that Product (RED) represents fourth wave of international assistance, a phenomenon they name ‘brand aid’. Brand aid is similar to the development good in that it uses the sale of goods to fundraise for charity, although the development good looks exclusively at fundraising within a development context. The development good model, like many charitable initiatives, has become increasingly dependent on celebrity. Marshall suggests that “celebrity status confers on the person a certain discursive power: within society, the celebrity is a voice above all others, a voice that is channeled into the media systems as being legitimately significant” (1997, p. 1). As a result, the use of celebrity in branding has become an effective way to create meaning.

Value to, and of, the Celebrity Enthusiast

There are, at least, two distinct functions served by the development good, for the celebrity. First, philanthropic engagement builds and re-builds the brand of the celebrity. Charitable work tends to be highly visible and publicized. Just as corporate brands benefit from associations with social engagement, the celebrity is a corporation, a business that requires ongoing market justification and cultural relevance.

The development good, as discussed above, makes sense through Baudrillard’s (1981) discussion of goods as signs and as sources of meaning. Beyond its use-value and

exchange-value, the development good's sign-value (logic of charity and philanthropy that frame the model) impacts and is transferred to those associated with the model as both consumers and celebrity endorsers. Second, philanthropic work provides an internal justification. Bono insists that Product (RED) is "not endorsing their products, these products endorse us" (Richey and Ponte, 2006, p. 2). By 'us' perhaps he is referencing corporate brands, in general, but it can certainly be extended to consider celebrities as part of that complex. Marshall writes, "at the heart of celebrity culture is the anxiety that there is nothing of value there...[and that] fame has no intrinsic merit" (2006, p. 313). Then, it might be concluded, that engagement with models such as the development good provide both internal and external justification and validation for celebrities.

Williamson (1978) explains that a product initially has no inherent meaning and that it assumes meaning through associations with other objects and individuals. In order to initiate global buzz around the Product (RED) campaign, it engaged celebrities in a massive communications strategy that attempted to lend credibility (in term of media logic) to the model. Early (RED) print campaigns featured more celebrities than any charitable advertising strategies that come to mind. Not only does the brand become a sign for consumers but through the brand consumers are also, in a sense, accessing celebrity. By engaging with (RED), for example, corporations and consumers are associated with the most powerful and iconic personalities on the planet, Madonna, Oprah Winfrey, Julia Roberts, Maya Angelou, Nelson Mandela, David Beckham and President Barack Obama, to name a few.

Risk and Reward

Although (RED) launched its campaign with unparalleled celebrity support there has been a noticeable shift away from celebrity in their advertising. Richey and Ponte (2011) note the criticism (RED) received for its over-the-top use of fame and excessive advertising. Shriver and Bono defended the model by pointing out that (RED), itself, does not advertise but piggybacks on the existing marketing budgets of corporate partners (GAP allocates a percentage of its budget to the RED campaign). Still the model perhaps lacked a feeling of authenticity or felt somewhat superficial. An example of this might be one of the interviews with Scarlett Johansson. The official website explains that Product (RED) chose the color because it represents “the colour of emergency and the color of blood which is one of the ways HIV enters the system” (Richey & Ponte, 2006, p.2), whereas actress Scarlett Johanson provides an alternative explanation, “it’s a sexy hot color that’s vibrant and attention grabbing. It has been since the 1940s, such a time of high glamour and red lipstick and red nails. That’s probably why they chose it for the campaign- glamour!” (Richey & Ponte, 2006, p. 4).

Johanson’s discussion of sex and glamour seems out of place in a model that seeks to provide treatment to those suffering from HIV/AIDS. Odd and offensive, corporate partner Giorgio Armani guest designed the cover of the (RED) edition of the Independent and put Kate Moss in blackface. Although Cooper (2008) does suggest that there is a potential for controversy and conflict with celebrity activism, he maintains that even under such conditions the use of celebrity is effective in creating dialogue and attracting attention for issues of global intervention and humanitarian aid. (RED)’s interest in celebrity dwindled in the subsequent campaigns. Emphasis was put on The Lazarus Effect

film and profiling recipients of treatment. This shift in direction created a campaign that felt (or appeared) politicized and more aligned with civil society than the market.

Absence of Celebrity

TOMS, as noted above, immediately embraced the rhetoric of civil society and the broad culture of social movements. Whereas (RED), in its early days, explicitly described its foundation as a business model, TOMS has always referred to its work as ‘a movement’. This, perhaps, impacted the advertising of the line. The communications around TOMS has tended to focus on ‘everyday’ youth. Pictures of people wearing the shoes in all kinds of places and circumstances clearly came before any images of celebrity. With early (RED) advertising, consumers were left with the message that consumers should buy into the model because all kinds of celebrities have already done so. TOMS, alternatively, messages that everyone has bought into ‘the movement’ - people just like you are supporting TOMS. Celebrities are never included in ads but sometimes appear in the blog as a ‘look who is wearing TOMS’ segment.

The Canada Collection employed a strategy very similar to TOMS with regards to celebrity. The images and the commercials focused on recipients and youth at play with a quick look to Canadians, in what was constructed as an everyday context. Celebrity was used to launch the Canada Collection and the organizations regularly profiled professional athletes as ambassadors but the advertising for this particular initiative was relatively ‘celebrity-free’. One can’t help but wonder, given the pull of fame in the current culture of media, why these campaigns have pulled away from any significant celebrity diplomacy (Cooper, 2008).

What comes to mind is Gilmore and Pine's (2007) text, *Authenticity: What Consumers Really Want*, in which they argue that consumers are tired of the fake, the cosmetic and the superficial. Although issues of authenticity are problematic (to identify the 'true' and the 'pure' assumes one measured standard) they are powerful motivators for consumers. Individuals, alienated by cycles of accumulation and consumption, attempt to resist by getting back to what is 'real'. What is perceived as real also has increased sign-value within the larger system of signs (Baudrillard, 1981).

Whether the interest in authenticity comes from interests in resisting or dominating systems of capital, they set up the assumption that 'authentic' structures and formations exist. This initiates a journey, a search or a market for that authentic good that may or may not be attainable. Gilmore and Pine describe authenticity as the new and most powerful consumer sensibility and that creating an 'authentic' opportunity or experience provides a competitive edge in the world of business. The focus on recipients, the shift from the language of markets to the rhetoric of social and political change, as well as the move away from glamorous celebrities to images of recipients and everyday consumers seems to be an attempt to create a more 'authentic' experience in the field of fundraising for development.

Conclusions

Finally, the development good model has not only attracted a lot of consumer interest but it has also garnered much industry recognition. Product (RED) and its founders have been awarded both, Advertising Person of the Year (Bobby Shriver) by Advertising Club, and the American National Constitution Center's 2007 Liberty Medal

(Bono) (Join RED, 2008). Motorola's (RED) pop up store launching the (RED) MOTORZAR won international store design awards (Join RED, Dec 30 2006). The CEO of recent (RED) partner Starbucks, Howard Schultz, was awarded Fortune Magazine's Business Person of the Year 2011. Hill Holiday was awarded Best Media Plan for their work with (RED) on the 2010 World AIDS Day campaign (Join RED, 2011).

TOMS has also received several accolades. In 2007 the company was selected for a People's Design Award from Cooper- Hewitt National Design Museum through the Smithsonian institution (beating out the iPhone). In 2009, TOMS received the Secretary of State Award for Corporation Excellence from Secretary Hillary Rodham Clinton. Finally, the 24th Annual Footwear News Achievement Award recognized TOMS as 'Brand of the Year' in 2010. Clearly these models prove significant not just for the consumers who engage with them but also for the industry peers and the wider public. The development good, although some may have originally written it off as superficial spin, has gained further legitimacy and been held up as both innovative and inspiring.

The development good clearly marks a significant and official re-positioning of the market within the field of international development. Not only does the corporation become a 'legitimate' player within the field of development but private consumer capital is being redirected through luxury purchases to development projects around the world. This marks a distinct departure from traditional CSR, in that consumers, according to the development good models, initiate the chain of response. Traditional CSR tends to be dictated and controlled by internal professionals who make decisions for a designated CSR budget. The consumer is a part of the traditional model in the sense that their

financial support contributes to the generation of profit, that is eventually directed to the CSR portion of the overall budget. Through the development good model the consumer has, or at least has been marketed, a very distinct form of agency (there is no cap on the gift as each purchase facilitates the gift). It is this agency that truly sets the development good apart from traditional CSR but by downloading fundraising for development onto the individual consumer, the logic of markets and consumption becomes the basis of response.

Given that consumers increasingly call for ‘authenticity’ (Gilmore and Pine, 2007) in their social responsibility, how a corporation structures and frames their work (particularly when it comes to CSR) becomes critical. The use of celebrity, images of recipients, messaging to consumers, rhetoric around the process, and framing of the gift all become highly political as they set up power relationships that attempt to guide capital. The messages of the development good and its wider communicative capacity clearly have the power to mask the interests of global capital and stake out new territory for the corporation in the world of development. As the development good tries to steer response through the story it tells, how it communicates and the broad functions of that narrative deserve careful consideration.

The following two chapters will look at the ‘Big Picture’ of the development good. The implications for this model are many but there are two key overarching areas of impact. First, the power of the development good’s communicative capacity to transform understandings of brand, commodity and corporation. The case of the Kony 2012 campaign will be used to demonstrate the truly overwhelming communicative

capacity of 'Western' models of aid and assistance. Not entirely unlike the development good model, Kony 2012 clearly speaks to a foreign campaign's ability to hijack the dialogue around a country's wellbeing and path to 'development'. Then, building on the capacity of the gift to re-create narratives of consumption, the chapter will close with a look at the development good's role transforming articulations of the private sector in the field of international development.

Chapter Six

The Transformative Impact of the Development Good's Communicative Capacity: Re-branding the Commodity, Corporation and Capital

"The singer may be innocent; never the song" John Berger

After having considered the structure and politics of the development good model, this chapter will explore in much more detail the impact of the development good's communicative capacity to inform notions of response, development, brand and commodity. First the Kony 2012 campaign will be introduced as a key example of the communicative capacity of Western/North American development aid narratives. The critical reaction to Kony 2012 will be included to examine how people make sense of calls to action and their deep desire to participate in constructions of 'development'. The tension between 'just do something' and 'first, do no harm' will be explored within the larger context of 'who benefits and how' through models such as the development good.

By establishing the power of communications processes around development campaigns and the development good, specifically, this model will then be discussed as a transformative space for the commodity, the corporation and the larger interests of capital. The second half of the chapter will look at how Morsing's (2003) Communication Dilemma is solved by the marriage of CSR and advertising for charitable goods as well as the broader processes that contribute to the re-branding of the corporation, the commodity and, ultimately, capital.

Kony 2012

I first heard about Kony 2012 when I received a phone call from my sister-in-law who lives in rural Cape Breton. She explained that her co-worker had a call from his 12 year-old son while he was at work earlier that day. His son was excitedly asking that his father come up to the school and bring five dollars with him so that he could buy a bracelet to protect children from being kidnapped into child soldiering. Immediately, after he hung up with his son the phone rang again. This time it was my 10 year old niece begging her mom to come up to the school with five dollars so that she too could purchase a Kony 2012 bracelet. She was very upset by what she had watched and felt absolutely compelled to purchase a bracelet in order to prevent more children from suffering the atrocities profiled in the video. She told her mother about the violence, young children forced to kill and others turned into prostitutes. Olivia was 10 and had no real context for processing the information she consumed. Her mother went to the school concerned by both the content of the film and the sale of goods to youth who were so emotionally impacted by what they had watched.

What Olivia's mother found upon arrival at the school is a tale of modern day missionaries. A group of young people, from California (over 6,000 km away), were traveling around with the Kony 2012 video (which has since gone viral). They were creating awareness, spreading the Word of the Invisible Children organization and fundraising. After showing the video to what could be argued an inappropriate age group (as well as the larger student body), the group of students were selling the Kony 2012 bracelets. Parents were not prepared or warned that their children would be viewing such

sensitive material and were not given the opportunity to create a context or have the pre-discussions to support watching the film. Awareness is critical but consideration should have been made, at the very least, to the age appropriateness of the film. There is something that feels reckless about this dissemination yet the fear and anxiety created in children appears to be justified by the importance of the message. There is also something blind about that 'message at all costs'. I was bothered by Olivia's experience with Kony 2012 and I seriously questioned the ethics of a campaign that seemed to be manipulating children's fear and guilt into a sale. Using the fear of children to fundraise against the brutality and exploitation of youth is absurd. The Kony 2012 volunteers, well intentioned as they might have been, swept into a small school dropped a tremendous amount of decontextualized, sensitive and emotionally disturbing material on children ages 10 (maybe younger) and up, set up a sales table and left. Children were left in a vulnerable state and parents were not supported or prepared for any of the discussions that might result from the viewing.

I want to open this discussion of the communicative capacity of the development good by introducing the case of the Kony 2012 Campaign. Kony 2012 is also framed as a case in this dissertation, although it is discussed separately from the development good models. It has been selected for its value as a 'decisive case' (Palys & Fraser, 2008) as it has become one of the most viewed YouTube videos to date. Kony 2012 might not exactly fall into the development good model, as it has been identified within this research. There is a sale of bracelets and other fundraising items in exchange for

international development support however, Kony 2012 does not appear have the same corporate ties or profit-seeking structure at the heart of its operations.

More importantly though, it is not unlike the marketing of the development good (endorsed by celebrities, decontextualizing issues, sensationalized images, heavy media presence, targeted at youth and large social media component). Kony 2012 speaks to the potential and reach of a predominantly North American campaign to frame critical issues facing nations identified as ‘developing’ as truths while circulating a call to action that is felt around the world. In a very short window of time, Kony 2012 demonstrates the rise and fall of one of the most powerful communications campaigns the field of humanitarian response has known. Finally, Kony 2012 brings the power and media currency of communications around development issues to the fore but it also speaks to something much deeper. My feeling is that it is also an incredible portrait of desperation. Viewers and supporters of Kony 2012 appear so very desperate, in the moment, to ‘just do something’. Kony2012 clearly speaks to the culture of our time. For this reason it is very useful for thinking through individual engagement with development fundraising and communication.

The Invisible Children Organization

As this is written, the shine is wearing off the Invisible Children organization responsible for the Kony 2012 campaign to have Joseph Kony, leader of the Lord’s Resistance Army (a Ugandan guerilla group), arrested and charged in the International Criminal Court system. Kony is accused of and has been indicted for war crimes and crimes against humanity but has avoided capture. The campaign’s emphasis is on Kony’s

kidnapping of children for the purposes of foot soldiering and prostitution. It has been estimated that Kony is responsible for the abduction of 30-100,000 children in the areas of Uganda, DRC, and the Sudan. According to its website, The Kony 2012 campaign uses film, art, street art, social media, conversation and face-to-face engagement to argue, “the arrest of Joseph Kony this year is something that we can all agree on” (Invisible Children, 2012). Invisible Children released a 29 min film on March 5, 2012 entitled *Kony 2012*. The work is narrated by director Jason Russell who is a filmmaker in his mid-thirties from San Diego, California.

In an interview at Liberty University in November of 2011, Russell describes how a six month journey to document genocide in the Sudan transformed into an eight year project that took him to the final stages of preparing for the release of the Kony video. “We can have fun while we end genocide, it’s an adventure, there are so many obstacles and challenges but we’re going to have a blast doing it” (Russell, 2011). As of the last week of April 2012, the YouTube video appears to have reached over 88 million people, the Vimeo posting has hit over 16 million people and many viewers streamed directly from the invisible Children website. The power of this video to hijack the dialogue around development needs consideration. What follows is a close reading of the Kony 2012 video.

Transcript and Description of the Kony 2012 Video

The film opens with the text ‘*Nothing is more powerful than an idea whose time has come, whose time is now*’. The voiceover explains that right now there are more people using the social media website, Facebook, than the world population just 200

years ago. The narrator reads *'humanity's greatest desire is to belong and connect and now we see each other, we hear each other'*, followed by images of social media sensations and families using technology to connect and stay connected. *'And this connection is changing the way the world works...the game has new rules. The next 27 minutes are an experiment'*. The discussion of connection and technology is followed by footage from the birth of the director's son Gavin. We, the audience, hear his first cries and witness his parents first seconds with him. The narrator explains that because he is here, he matters. We then see clips from Gavin's life as he grows into a little boy of approximately four years of age. Russell shares that his son was born into a very complicated world and that *'because of the course of events in my life, I see a way to get there [removal of Kony]. It has become my job. Who are you to end a war? I'm here to tell you, who are you not to?'*

Jacob

Next, Russell introduces Jacob, a young boy he met 10 years earlier on a trip to Uganda. Jacob's brother was killed by the rebels while he watched. Jacob explained to the camera that hundreds of children sleep together in temporary settlements to avoid capture by Kony's rebels. The filmmaker and his crew are shocked by the conditions and exclaim that *'if that happened one night in America it would be on the cover of Newsweek'*. The narrator talks to Jacob who tells them he wants to be a lawyer when he grows up but can't afford the schooling. Eventually, he told the film makers that many of the children feel that they are better off dead than living with the insecurity and fear they are currently experiencing. Jacobs breaks down crying and the director tries to comfort him, and the

voiceover states *'I made him a promise' and cuts to Russell saying 'we are going to do everything that we can to stop them. Do you hear my words? You know what I mean? We are going to stop them. We're going to stop them'*. The narrator then calls out to the audience and claims that the promise is not just about himself and not just about Jacob but it is also about us, the viewers. The *'only purpose is to stop the LRA and their leader, Joseph Kony, and I'm about to tell you exactly how we're going to do it'*. Accompanying much of this dialogue are images of people mobilizing, organizing and participating in the production and dissemination of Kony 2012 materials (which are designed to resemble election posters, signs, pins and stickers).

Gavin

This next section of the film has been fairly controversial or at least confusing for many critics. Russell spends a minute introducing the images of and idea of Kony to his four year old son. Setting up a 'good guy' and 'bad guy' binary, he asks his son who the bad guys might be, to which Gavin replies *'Star Wars people'*. Russell tells Gavin Kony's name and slides a picture of Kony across the table, *"and what he does is he takes children from their parents and he gives them a gun to shoot and he makes them shoot and kill other people...what do you think about that?"*. Gavin replies with a single word, sad. The voiceover then says *"I couldn't explain to Gavin the details of what Joseph Kony really does, because the truth is, Kony abducts kids just like Gavin. For 26 years, Kony has been kidnapping children into his rebel group the LRA, turning the girls into sex slaves and the boys into soldiers. He makes them mutilate people's faces and he forces them to kill their own parents. And this is not just a few children. It's been over 30,000 of them"*.

Joseph Kony

Russell then discusses Kony's rise and use of power. Clips from International Criminal Court prosecutor, Ocampo, declare that Kony must be stopped and the only way to stop him is through prosecution. Russell voiceover states "*It's obvious that Kony should be stopped*" and he cuts to an image of his son Gavin agreeing that Kony should be stopped. Russell sets this up as a given and goes on to claim that "*the problem is that 99% of the planet doesn't know who he is, if they knew, Kony would have been stopped long ago*". The problem here is framed as simply being knowledge and awareness. The director then describes the feeling of coming back to America, assuming that if Washington knew what was going on in Uganda, they would take action but that was not the case. The Invisible Children organization was repeatedly told that the issue wasn't important enough to American foreign policy interests.

Russell describes the process of re-grouping and re-directing energy into mobilizing and creating a community around the Kony 2012 initiative. The images and stories were shared widely and creatively. The narrator says that this awareness translated into action. During this time, he explains, the LRA moved out of Uganda but the Invisible Children organization remained committed to bringing Kony to justice for his atrocities. Russell describes building "*a community around the idea that where you live shouldn't determine whether you live*" and profiles the basic development work carried out by the organization. He says that the work "*proved a bunch of littles could make a big difference and as a result the unseen became visible*". The film shows a crowd chanting "*we have*

seen these kids, we've heard their cries, the war must end! We will not stop, we will not fear, we will fight war".

Russell says that slowly politicians on both sides of the political spectrum accepted that Kony must be stopped and made this a priority. In October of 2011, the organization received an email from President Barack Obama, *"I have authorized a small number of US forces to deploy to Central Africa to provide assistance to regional forces that are working toward the removal of Joseph Kony from the battlefield"*. The film is very careful to say that the government is not putting troops into combat but rather that they are providing assistance and advice, in fact, for the rest of the film they are referred to as 'advisors'. The director says *"it was the first time in history that the United States took that kind of action because the people demanded it, not for self-defense but because it was right"*.

Constructions of Action and Engagement

What might be considered the concluding segments of the film focus on action. The narrator maintains that it is critical to put continued pressure on the American government so that troops are not pulled once interest and publicity have declined. He argues that too often in human history, injustice occurs because people do nothing. Images of Hitler, the Holocaust and Rwanda accompany the argument. Russell then claims that *"we're starting here, with Joseph Kony, because now we know what to do. Here it is. Ready? In order for Kony to be arrested this year the Ugandan military has to find him. In order to find him they need the technology and training to track him in the vast jungle. That's where the American advisors come in. But in order for the American*

advisors to be there the US government has to deploy them. They've done that but if the government doesn't believe the people care about arresting Kony, the mission will be cancelled. In order for the people to care, they have to know and they will only know of Kony's name is everywhere".

The problem of Kony is again framed as lack of awareness (in the US), technology and training. Russell says the Invisible Children organization wants to make Kony a household name. George Clooney is featured saying *"I'd like indicted war criminals to enjoy the same level of celebrity as me. That seems fair. That's our objective, is to shine a light on it"*. To do this, the organization has selected high profile policy and cultural makers from around the world (although primarily American). Cultural makers, they claim, have the power to shift the global dialogue and policy makers have the authority to ensure that Kony is captured. Again the narrator says *"this is something we can all agree on"*, no matter what side you are on, that Kony needs to be captured. Russell states, *"If my son were kidnapped and forced to kill it would be all over the news. So we are making Kony world news by redefining the propaganda we see all day, every day"*. Street artist, Shepard Fairey, one of the most famous street artists to date (he was responsible for the iconic Obama 'Hope' poster) is also included in the Kony video. He speaks to the powerlessness felt by people in communicating their ideas and recognizes that this generation has a new set of tools in social media that allows them to take their message global. The narrator says that is exactly the plan.

Aside from the broad communications posturing, individuals can purchase bracelets with identification numbers that allow them to track their own Kony 2012

mission online. Consumers also have the option of buying an action kit (from organization TRI) and donating to the cause on a monthly basis. All of these activities are to take participants up to the April 20th event, 'Cover the Night'. April 20th was the night marked to make Kony 'famous'. Hundreds of thousands people vowed online to meet at sundown and poster their cities and towns with the images of Kony. The video describes inverting pyramids of power that traditionally have capital, media and government at the top to create a new model of power that places individuals and communities at the top of the power structure.

The film states that Kony has been committing atrocities for over 20 years and no one cared but now 'we care'. As he closes the film, Russell says *"At the end of my life I want to say that the world we've left behind is one Gavin can be proud of, a place that doesn't allow Joseph Konys and child soldiers, a place where children, no matter where they live have a childhood free from fear"*. His son Gavin is then shown, *"I want to be like you dad...I'm going to come with you to Africa"*. The video ends by designating three actions, *"One, sign the pledge to show your support. Two, get the bracelet and the Action kit. Three, sign up for TRI to donate a few dollars each month and join our army for peace. Above all, share this movie online- it's free"*. The site further asks that people engage their leaders, serve their own communities and then hit the streets. The website hosts a pledge:

Following the launch of KONY 2012, the United Nations and African Union announced an ambitious new plan to arrest Joseph Kony, protect civilians, and restore communities affected by LRA violence. But it will only work if world leaders choose to follow through by declaring their support and providing the necessary resources. Specifically, we are calling on world leaders to-

- Expand communications networks and other programs that help warn communities of LRA threats and provide opportunities for LRA abductees to escape and return safely to their families.
- Provide the African Union effort with the logistical support needed to arrest Joseph Kony and his top commanders and protect civilians.
- Engage directly with African governments to ensure Kony and his LRA forces cannot exploit remote areas or political discord to find safe haven anywhere in the region.

This June, the UN will meet to discuss their strategy, and we'll be there to deliver your signatures (Invisible Children, 2012)

As of April 24, 2012 approximately 3,590,161 people from around the world had taken the pledge online. What followed the March 5th release of the Kony 2012 video has been well documented in world media. Within three weeks over 86 million people had watched the film on YouTube and approximately 16 million views on Vimeo. By May those numbers have increased by about another 5 million views. The video did receive considerable celebrity support and is now recognized as one of the most watched YouTube videos to date, however, it also ignited great controversy.

Critical Reactions to Kony 2012

Supporters of the Kony 2012 campaign fiercely defended the video. The Evolution of Philanthropy (Rougeux, March 22, 2012,) website went as far as creating a page of responses to the common critiques leveled at Kony 2012. First, they addressed what seemed to be the initial round of critiques based on financial concerns. Invisible Children, it was reported, only spent 37% of its revenue on 'African Programs' and this created tremendous backlash. From personal experience, the shift on Facebook was abrupt from postings that framed Kony 2012 as hopeful and advocating for change to very quickly making accusations of 'fraud' and Kony being a 'scam'. The Evolution of Philanthropy website, however, argues that Invisible Children is not a traditional,

frontline service provider. Instead they focus on advocacy through film and the arts and when this is taken into account the numbers directed to 'programming' versus administrative costs are inline with industry standards.

A second common complaint in relation to the Kony film is that the political context was reduced to a flattened narrative that failed to highlight the complexity of the power dynamic and political actors in Uganda and the surrounding areas. Rougeux (2012) responds that the target audience was high school and university age students who lacked the larger political context required to fully comprehend the political processes and actors at play. One might argue this to be all the more reason to provide a context. Rougeux notes, but does not speak to, the critique around the white 'savior' attitude, which might be taken as an acknowledgement that it is problematic. He further responds that the goal was not to provide a history lesson but to engage, leading into the final point of accusation of 'slacktivism'. The author describes the term as referring to 'feel good actions' that produce very few results. Rougeux rejects this judgment and suggests that awareness, in itself, is a critical first step in any process of engagement.

Finally, the posting on The Evolution of Philanthropy website includes a response from Ben Keesey, CEO of Invisible Children. He highlights media, advocacy and development as constituting the Invisible Children model. Keesey explains that making media product is their priority because it engages supporters and creates advocacy networks. He adds that government mobilization is slow, so the organization also invests in local development partnerships. Keesey says he understands why people were suspicious. First, many had just heard about Invisible Children for the first time and when

they went to seek out further information, no website existed. The amount of traffic, during the height of Kony 2012, crashed their system. He says that in the interests of transparency, they are putting all of their cards on the table, starting with the finances. He shows audited tax documents along with annual general reports posted on their website and he provided the criteria and explanations for various lines on the tax forms. The majority of the video spoke to the financials of the organization. The last minute (of eight and a half minutes) addresses the Kony 2012 video. Kessey says he and Russell, both, realize they don't have 'the monopoly on truth' but stand by their claim that in order to stop Kony and the LRA, multilateral and multisectoral responses are required. As in the video, he too uses the logic and rhetoric that 'everyone agrees' that Kony must be stopped.

Critique of Kony 2012

Paul Benedek (2012) of *Green Left Weekly* posted video on Links (International Journals of Socialist Renewal) citing '*Eight Myths Behind Kony 2012*'. What follows is a description of the myths with a brief explanation in parenthesis. Starting with number eight, those myths include: Kony is a leading threat to the people of Uganda today (exaggerated the size of the army and the location of Kony); 7) Ugandan people support Kony 2012 (aggressive protesting after the release of the film. Citizens said that if people in the west truly cared about the Ugandan people they wouldn't wear shirts featuring Kony's image); 6) that 'we' should support the Ugandan government who is simply in need of technology and support (Kony is no longer in Uganda and the government itself is not as innocent as portrayed in the video); 5) Africans are victims in need of saving by

the west (initiatives like Kony 2012 are neocolonial constructions that ignore and erase local agency); 4) the region is presented as having 'no financial or political interest' to America (resource rich and the US is looking to create a location for military presence AFRICOM); 3) Kony is the number one war criminal in the world (The ICC has put him at the top of the list but the US refuses to ratify the ICC) and the video claims that the US government is positioned as democratic and just, compared to Kony (though described as responsible for over a million Iraqi deaths and an illegal occupation of Afghanistan), 2) George W. Bush is on the list of policy makers with the power to change international response (Benedek's video points to him as a war criminal 'at home' and ridicules reaching out to him); 1) American military 'advice' and intervention is a solution for the country of Uganda (American military advisors led to the war in Vietnam and have a history of interventions that are strategic and work in the interests of foreign policy rather than the local population).

Once the questions around financial maneuvering died down, Kony 2012 supporters were very quick to defend Invisible Children based on the logic of 'at least they are doing something'. Cronin-Furman and Taub (April, 24, 2012) describe Kony 2012 supporters as offended by Invisible Children's critics on the basis that they are 'arm-chair critics' who criticize freely but do nothing themselves. They feel that Kony 2012 supporters have written off the voices of those who dispute the work of Invisible Children, but they fail to recognize that many of the critical voices came from Ugandan citizens, former members of the LRA, frontline aid workers and local activists. This creates an interesting dynamic in which the opinions of those who are not directly

engaged in development work in areas plagued by conflict are not entitled to 'legitimate' and 'credible' positions on issues of development. Additionally and even more offensively, the voices of Ugandan citizens are ignored in this dialogue for KONY 2012. This raises important questions around who dominates the discourse of development and why they have this power.

Unfortunately, the critical reactions to the Kony 2012 video appear to have been too much for its director, Jason Russell, to handle (Sieczowski, 2012, March 20). Beyond questioning the legitimacy of the organization, its fundraising practices, the over simplification of politics, attacks went deeper into Invisible Children's ties to anti-gay Christian fundamentalist organizations and Russell's own sexuality. On March 15th, he was arrested in San Diego for running through the streets naked and screaming. As is common today, his ranting and nudity was caught on video and posted around the world. Invisible Children released a statement attributing the bizarre behaviour to exhaustion and dehydration, while his wife explained that Russell simply took the criticism of Kony 2012 very hard. The campaign seems to have struggled since the incident and in the face of ongoing criticism.

Discussion of Kony 2012

One of the interesting processes that developed around the Kony 2012 video was a broader cultural dialogue around humanitarian aid and development. Mahmood Mamdani (2012), Professor and Director of the Makerere Institute of Social Research in Kampala, Uganda posted a rich response to the Kony 2012 video. He opens the piece by explaining to the reader that two weeks previous to the release of the Kony video, national

newspapers were carrying front line stories (from Social Science Research Council of New York) revealing the brutal atrocities carried out by the Ugandan government against civilians in the search to find Joseph Kony and the LRA. Two weeks later, almost 100,000,000 people have watched and are circulating a film that paints a very different picture on the political landscape in Uganda. The Kony video positions the Ugandan government as trying to capture Joseph Kony and the leaders of the LRA but lacking the necessary technology and support. Kony and his supporters are positioned as the only 'bad guys' in the picture.

A very flattened and simplistic political context is established, one that ignores the government's forced internment of rural populations in three Acholi districts (by 2005 population reached over 1.8 million people). Over the last two decades, these measures were argued to protect populations from the LRA but lead to mortality rates that were worse than the fatalities from LRA violence. Mamdani also notes that the president was the one who failed to sign amnesty agreements put forward by the Ugandan Parliament. In 2002 the ICC indicted Joseph Kony and Mamdani adds that many people were critical of this indictment and wondered why government forces were not also indicted. Mamdani writes,

The LRA is a raggedy bunch of a few hundred at most, poorly equipped, poorly armed, and poorly trained. Their ranks mainly comprise those kidnapped as children and then turned into tormentors. It is a story not very different from that of abused children who in time turn into abusive adults. In short, the LRA is no military power... Thus one must ask: Will this mobilization of millions be subverted into yet another weapon in the hands of those who want to militarize the region further? If so, this well-intentioned but unsuspecting army of children will be responsible for magnifying the very crisis to which they claim to be the solution. The 70 million plus who have watched the Invisible Children video need to realize that the LRA – both the leaders and the children pressed into their

service – are not an alien force but sons and daughters of the soil. The solution is not to eliminate them physically, but to find ways of integrating them into (Ugandan) society. (Mamdani, 2012)

Reflection and then Action

Teju Cole, an American and Nigerian writer, wrote in *The Atlantic* (2012, March 21) an article entitled ‘The White Saviour Industrial Complex’. The article was meant to be a contextualization of, explanation for, and response to, the critiques he received after a series of seven of his texts went viral and were reposted around the world:

1. From Sachs to Kristof to Invisible Children to TED, the fastest growth industry in the US is the White Savior Industrial Complex.
2. The white savior supports brutal policies in the morning, founds charities in the afternoon, and receives awards in the evening.
3. The banality of evil transmutes into the banality of sentimentality. The world is nothing but a problem to be solved by enthusiasm.
4. This world exists simply to satisfy the needs—including, importantly, the sentimental needs—of white people and Oprah.
5. The White Savior Industrial Complex is not about justice. It is about having a big emotional experience that validates privilege.
6. Feverish worry over that awful African warlord. But close to 1.5 million Iraqis died from an American war of choice. Worry about that.
7. I deeply respect American sentimentality, the way one respects a wounded hippo. You must keep an eye on it, for you know it is deadly. (Cole, 2012, March 21, 2012)

Cole opened this piece by stating, “If we are going to interfere in the lives of others, a little due diligence is a minimum requirement”. He positions himself as being very much implicated in oppressive transnational systems of power but also being able to reflect on the meaning of those systems. He also advocates for some direct and honest speech in a time of careful and controlled rhetoric. Cole describes the controversy of Kony in a simple and beautiful way. He introduces a quote by John Berger, “the singer may be

innocent; but never the song". In this case, the song seems to represent the enduring narratives and discourses that maintain and sustain interventions while often working to advance geopolitical and capital interests. The singers, however, the people and organizations who take up with these structures, ones Heron (2007) describes as 'colonial continuities' that may, in fact, be very well intentioned.

Cole questions the logic that informs many responses, similar to the supporters of Kony 2012 described above by Cronin-Furman and Taub (2012, April, 24), who are quick to say that Kony 'does something' and that is better than simply being an 'armchair critic'. Is 'doing something' always better than 'doing nothing'? Cole reminds that before 'doing something' one must 'do no harm'. This creates an opening for questioning those acts, the charity, the development, the philanthropy, the 'somethings' that culturally are framed as 'good' and 'altruistic' simply because the intentions are 'good'. The 'White Saviour Industrial Complex' he describes, privileges notions of 'making a difference' over 'doing no harm' and uses the idea of 'making a difference' to meet diverse emotional and material interests. Cole lists the problems in many African nations as ones of governance, infrastructure, democracy, law and order. Responses should reject superficial sloganism, in favour of 'intricate and intensely local' responses. If foreigners really want to help he encourages them to exercise respect for what has already been achieved and the agency of people. Equally important, one should reflect on their own nation's foreign policy, resource extraction agendas and larger geo-political interests, especially in relation to the countries they are trying to 'help'.

Complexity of Kony 2012 and Responding to Kony

Dinaw Mengestu (2012), like Cole (2012), has serious concerns with Kony 2012. In 2006, Mengestu traveled with a group of UN officials and journalists to eastern Congo to attend a meeting with Joseph Kony and members of the LRA, during attempts of a peace agreement between the Ugandan government and the LRA. On the website Warscapes he recently posted an essay titled, “*Not a Click Away: Joseph Kony in the Real World*” in which he problematizes what he sees as the overly simplistic and arrogant positioning of the Kony 2012 video. Mengestu argues that the film sets up a ‘reality’ that ignores the complexity of the Ugandan conflict. The barrier to Kony’s capture is constructed as a basic lack of western knowledge. Ignored are decades of government, multilateral, military and civil society initiatives working toward the capture of Kony.

The complexity of having these diverse players come together to track down a highly mobile and decentralized guerrilla army moving through rough and uncharted terrain cannot be overstated. Yet, as Mengestu writes, Kony 2012 is steadfast in its claims that Kony will be brought to justice now because young Americans have spoken. Jason Russell, the video’s director, vows to Jacob (his young Ugandan friend whose brother was killed), “we are, we are going to stop them”. The notion that ‘western awareness’ will be what eventually turns the tide after decades of work is arrogant. Mengestu concludes, “if there is one thing Invisible Children is right about, it’s that ignorance is blinding” (2012, par. 14).

Mengestu also points to Kony 2012 as employing ‘sentimental and infantilizing’ representations of Africa that have been circulating since the colonial era. Especially offensive, to him, is the name ‘Invisible Children’. He describes this as a neocolonial ‘we

didn't know about them before so they were invisible' attitude but the children have never been invisible to the families, who fiercely protected their children long before aid workers flocked to the area and many, many years before "a group of college students traveling through Uganda happened to stumble upon a war they were too ignorant to have known of before going to the region" (Mengestu, 2012 par 11). Mengestu keeps coming back to the point that American 'awareness' does not provide a sufficient response to a decades long conflict embedded in the cultural, political, economic and social landscape of nations half way around the world. The author argues that the over simplification of issues ('cause and solution') is, in fact, a strategy because should the viewer be given the opportunity to consider the complexity and depth of the issues attached to Kony and the LRA, they would likely hesitate to engage.

Teju Cole (2012, March 21) notes that the militarization called for by the Kony 2012 video would simply further support the Museveni government, a government very active in the Congo's deadly war, accused of domestic atrocities against the citizens of Uganda and thought by many to be a 'U.S. proxy' in both Sudan and Somalia. Like Mengestu (2012), Cole asks people to look beyond the rhetoric of 'humanitarian disasters' to consider the disasters and injustices that underpin the Kony of this world-support for select but undemocratic governments through aid dollars, the militarization of countries engulfed in poverty and resource extraction that exploits both people and places.

Communicative Capacity of Kony 2012

The communicative capacity of the Kony 2012 video cannot be overstated. *The Guardian* posted an article, 'Kony 2012 in Numbers' (Kanczula, 2012, April 2012). This segment looked at the statistics surrounding the media campaign and stated the following;

- 100 million people viewed the video in under six days. It is argued to be the fastest growing YouTube video in a six day period to date.
- 5 million Tweets after it was posted
- 58% of youth surveyed between the ages of 18 and 29 claimed to have heard of the Kony 2012 video
- 1,380,900 Twitter statements about Kony 2012 each day during the first three days of the campaign.
- 13,536% increase in Kony 2012 viewing after Oprah tweeted her support.

The cultural power of the video was so overwhelming that it spurred a series of viral parodies. The popular comedic website, Funny or Die, alone, hosts over 30 satirical Kony videos, some examples include: Kony coming to LA to sell a film; a series of lost emails between Kony and Jason Russell; the creation of a Joseph Kony action figure; Kony's reaction to Russell's public breakdown; a King Kong parody; and, a video in which a Jason Russell impersonator explains who Joseph Kony is to his cat named Blueberry. Especially sharp is a video made exclusively for Funny or Die in which Christopher Meloni, star of the popular series *Law and Order*, decides to quit acting and dresses up as Dog the Bounty Hunter (a reality show) and is determined to go to Africa and bring Joseph Kony to justice. The video pokes fun at both celebrity and the enthusiasm around the Kony 2012 campaign but also supports the Enough Project, an organization fighting genocide and crimes against humanity.

Danger of Kony 2012

It is the simplicity of the video and its emphasis on communication and awareness that resonated with viewers all over the world. Max Fisher (2012, March 8), writing for

The Atlantic says that Kony 2012 was “so seductive precisely for the same reasons that make it so dangerous” (Par. 2). It sets up a violent, decades-long, conflict as having a very simple solution- the viewer’s awareness and ability to share information. It seems too easy because it is. The ease with which people could ‘act’ led to the film being viewed by over one hundred million people around the world. Well intentioned as the viewing and circulation might be, Fisher suspects that damage has already been done. Kony communicates that in many ways, awareness is sufficient for change. As this happens there is a potential for ideas of global responsibility to also shift. Additionally, the hype around the Kony 2012 video first attracted funds that might have otherwise gone into frontline work (Invisible Children’s focus is on media advocacy first) so ‘on the ground’ organizations likely received fewer funding dollars. Second, the knowledge and attention Central Africa received through the Kony video will likely cause a distribution of future resources away from the region, because it will be understood by many to be already well served.

Equally problematic, according to Fisher, is the power of Invisible Children to perpetuate the missionary attitude of the ‘white saviour’. That persistent frame of an Africa in need of western intervention is circulated and it makes local leadership, interventions and agency invisible under the media spotlight of Western celebrity. Again, people who view and share the Kony 2012 video are often well intentioned but just because the feelings might be interpreted in this way, does not mean that the action necessarily translates into something that is ‘good’. Cole (2012) proclaims, “Let us begin our activism right here: with the money-driven villainy at the heart of American foreign

policy. To do this would be to give up the illusion that the sentimental need to "make a difference" trumps all other considerations. What innocent heroes don't always understand is that they play a useful role for people who have much more cynical motives". Mamdani (2012), interestingly, refers to advocates for the Kony 2012 movement as "a mostly children's army of over 70 million viewers". His use of language draws an interesting comparison between youth, in two different environments, being manipulated by larger structural, institutional and cultural forces. I acknowledge that the comparison between privileged western children wearing a Kony 2012 bracelet and those abducted into horrific conditions seems exaggerated but Mamdani makes a point that speaks to the use of youth and notions of development to serve larger ideological interests.

First, Do No Harm

The communicative capacity of the video, regardless of the intention, denies Cole's (2012) demand that humanitarian assistance first do no harm. There is a clear cultural and structural violence embedded in the campaign that cannot and should not be overlooked. Instead simply feeling compelled to 'do something', a sentiment most can relate to, we have to be reflective in what we do, how we do it and carefully consider the potential for harm. The story of the Kony case is that so many of the pledges, who vowed online to 'poster the night' failed to mobilize. Millions of people took the Kony 2012 pledge, yet, reports from around the world suggest that although the message received unparalleled online success it 'stumbled in the streets' (Tromsness, 2012, April 21).

In Toronto, for example, 30,000 people committed through Facebook to attend a rally in Dundas Square before postering the city (Tromsness, 2012, April 21). *The Globe and Mail* reported no more than a couple of dozen posters in the area the following day. The situation in Vancouver was similar, 21,000 pledges translated into a few posters. In Montreal the postering event that had been planned by hundreds was simply cancelled. *The Globe and Mail* further reports that this was also the case in several Australian and British cities. It is unclear whether the dramatic withdrawal of support was due to the heavy criticism the campaign received, the public breakdown of its charismatic leader or a disconnect between online activism and follow through. It is most likely a combination of all three, but had Invisible Children and its leaders not been so heavily criticized, it would have been very interesting to see how the physical engagement component of Kony 2012 would have played out.

Kony 2012 clearly demonstrates the power of aid, development and assistance (all of which are entangled with notions of the gift) to fuel the communications process. As very well intentioned people embraced the campaign, its ability to communicate mushroomed. Interestingly, there seems to be a threshold in place. Once a campaign becomes oppressive or entirely dominating in its articulations of aid and development it becomes incredibly vulnerable to critique- demonstrating a delicate balance in the communications process.

The Development Good as a Transformative Space for the Commodity, Corporation and Capital

I opened this chapter with a discussion of Kony 2012 because I wanted to highlight the power of dominant communications processes and mainstream media

around notions of international development and intervention. Although this might be assumed a feature of the increasingly sensationalized media landscape (Bracci, 2003), as noted in chapter three, Thorne (1999) uses the example of early missions to note historical patterns around the power of reporting on development and defining (mythologizing) notions of ‘development’. This chapter will explore this communicative capacity of the development good model.

It is difficult to determine the effectiveness of models such as the development good, on the whole. It depends not only on the individual case and the ability to access critical data but also on how one defines notions of success in the field of development. Instead it might be useful to think about the models in terms of their power. It seems that one of the development goods’ main sources of power is its ability to communicate, and in some cases, even dominate the discourses of development. Here, I will argue that the development good must be considered for its function as a transformative space for capital. It first allows corporations to embrace and exploit the communicative capacity of the gift much more aggressively. Gifts have long been recognized to transform the status of the commodity or the good into what is often understood as an ‘elevated state’ (Kopytoff, 1986). The combination of gift and its accompanying communicative capacity serve to: 1) unlock a heightened communicative potential for corporate partners; 2) re-brand the commodities produced through the development good, as well as the corporate partners participating in the model; and, 3) re-position capital in relation to the field of international development.

The Development Good and the Communication Dilemma

First and foremost, it needs to be said that because the development good relies on the movement of commodities it requires an advertising campaign. This might seem obvious but, in fact, it is a very critical point. Polonsky and Jevons (2009) claim that the advertising of CSR and other corporate 'good deeds' tends to be perceived as superficial, opportunistic and suspicious. Yet, it has been well documented that, CSR contributes to positive associations with brands and increased overall revenue. A 2007 Cone Cause Evolution Survey established a critical relationship between social consciousness and consumer interest. According to this study, 92% of people surveyed have a more positive image of a company that appears supportive of causes the consumer considers important. Additionally, it stated that price and quality being relatively equal, 87% of consumers will switch to another brand, if it appears more socially engaged. Furthermore, as was noted that after the WTO protests in Seattle, targeted companies without active CSR engagement or socially conscious reputations suffered a 3% market decline. Those with some degree of social engagement did not suffer at all (Schnietz & Epstein, 2004).

Social consciousness, in the corporate world, has financial value and currency. For corporations, it is critical that the private sector communicate such activities to reap the rewards without appearing exploitative. Morsing (2003) found CSR to be one of the key forces in shaping positive corporate brand image in Denmark. However, when it comes to communicating such activities, consumers feel that CSR should be downplayed or at least shared in a very 'delicate' manner. This locks the private sector into what Morsing calls a 'communication dilemma', the need to "demonstrate corporate social responsibility without communicating overtly about it" (p.150).

As communicating corporate 'do goodedness' becomes increasingly challenging, Morsing (2003) points out that the traditional channels of information, that flow between consumers and corporations are no longer effective. This is where, I believe, the development good becomes a critical case in communications around international development. Marrying corporate social responsibility initiatives to the movement of goods legitimates and necessitates advertising. The development good is understood by the public to require generous marketing campaigns. In a sense, this enables the corporation to gain consumer consent to market their social responsibility projects. This needs to be teased out as a key function of the development good. Add to the mix high-profile celebrity spokes people that tend to accompany many international philanthropic organizations as well as the tremendous marketing budgets of multinational corporations, and the communicative capacity of the development good is relatively unmatched in development fundraising. The power and cultural value of the gift that had to be so carefully managed and discretely communicated in the past is now open to highly aggressive marketing campaigns. By introducing the logic of profit and sales into a corporate social responsibility, solving the communications dilemma, the private sector has truly reconstructed how they are able position themselves in the field of development by re-branding commodities, corporations and capital.

The Re-Branding of the Commodity and Corporation as a Social Good

Here, let's first consider how the development good is able to re-brand its private sector actors. The development good enhances the sign value of the commodity and, in turn, re-charges models of consumption. Appadurai (1986) explains that:

When the spatial, cognitive, and institutional distances between production, distribution and consumption are great, specialized mythologies about commodity and commodity flows are generated. Mythological understandings of the circulation of commodities are generated because of detachment, indifference, or ignorance of participants. (p.21)

In the case of the development good, specialized mythologies are marketed and produced. They are embraced, in part, likely due to the indifference and ignorance characteristic of many consumers, as argued by Appadurai. It is, in all likelihood, rather easy to re-articulate the flow and myth of the commodity because it is not disrupting a script- it is simply creating one. Therefore, the branding of the commodity is interesting because it sounds incredibly challenging and rigorous but in practice many consumers lack a full or complex understanding of the resources, production, distribution and consumption of commodities. So marketing the commodity itself as ethical and caring (although this seems to be incredibly superficial given the power dynamics of global capitalism) has, perhaps, benefited from the disconnect between understandings of commodities and the flow of commodities.

The power dynamics of the development good are being briefly revisited in order to explore exactly how it is understood to contribute to a social cause, what that means for the value of a commodity and the implications this might have for consumer culture. As noted previously, the development good is a model that is built on the practice of co-branding between development organizations, corporate structures and in most cases celebrities. The development good model enables corporations, through associations with development organizations and actors, to embed themselves in that 'morally right' space that surrounds the work of development. This is an unusual placement for many

multinational corporations as people increasingly look to corporate culture with great suspicion when it comes to its operations, relationships and CSR (Blowfield, 2004). What this does, is it re-articulates the story of the commodity. A good example of co-branding and the transfer of meaning at the heart of the development good comes from Product (RED)'s launch in Davos, Switzerland in 2006. Giorgio Armani, enthusiastically, proclaimed that "the new formula is that this is charity to the world, of course, but particularly it is the fact that commerce will no longer have a negative connotation" (Richey & Ponte, 2006, p. 2). Bono, similarly, replied by insisting that Product (RED) is "not endorsing their products, these products endorse us" (p. 2).

Commodities, therefore, produced within this framework stand out from comparable goods for their links to celebrity influence (although that is not unusual in an advertising context) but more specifically, because they represent a gift proposed by private sector retailers and intended for 'developing' countries. The development good is implicated in a 'social good' because it is seen as contributing to the grander project of development and legitimized by the ever powerful voices of the entertainment celebrity (Cooper, 2008), the aid 'expert', celebrities (Richey and Ponte, 2011), mainstream media and the Global Fund (as well as the NGOs in partnership with the Global Fund).

A Critical Look at the New Narrative

When something sounds too good to be true, it usually is and the development good is no exception to that rule. Models such as, and similar to, the development good have been critiqued from several perspectives, most often for conflating consumption and care (Richey & Ponte, 2010), existing as a solely western response, ignoring the voices of

African populations (Himmelmen and Mupotsa, 2008; Ray, 2008), depoliticizing and decontextualising global power dynamics (Barnes, 2008), the environmental impact of consumption (Anderson, 2006), privileging the market in a neo-liberal framework and commodifying need (Zizek, 2009), bypassing the role of the state (Wirgau, Webb, Farley and Jensen, 2010), ignoring grass-roots and community-based nonprofit responses (Magubane, 2012), and finally, over-investing in flashy (and often offensive), celebrity laden media campaigns (Cooper, 2008; Frizzel, 2007; Thral et al, 2008; Van Niekerk, 2008; Lalbiharie, 2007). The following discussion will tease out some of those critiques in greater detail.

Western Media Frames

It is important to note that the bodies perceived to grant legitimacy to such market-based responses are, most often, external to the affected regions. A good example of this phenomenon exists in the case of Product (RED). It was at the urging of graduate students, Natasha Himmelman and Danai Mupotsa (2008), that the *Journal of Pan African Studies* decided to devote an entire issue to the study of Product (RED). Both describe the disconnect between their experiences as students (first in the United States and then in South Africa) with how Africa and the issue of AIDS in Africa is represented in the advertising for the model. First, Natasha describes excitement at the prospect of the African edition of *Vanity Fair* but when she gets to the US, she is overwhelmed by the media campaign for Product (RED), the images and the billboards as well as the coverage of Madonna's adoptions and the Jolie-Pitt family. She writes that she contacted family,

friends and colleagues in Cape Town to ask what the media coverage had been like been on their end. No one was familiar with the concept of Product (RED).

This raised several questions for Natasha, especially, “how can a continent be represented in the age of globalization and information technology without being involved or consulted (in the larger media campaign)? Why wasn’t this edition of *Vanity Fair* being sold in South Africa? Why wasn’t Product (RED) being transparent if it sought to help Africans?” (Himmelman & Mupotsa, 2008, p.2). Similarly, Danai recounts the discomfort she experienced watching the Oprah Winfrey launch of Product (RED). She asked herself, “why do rich people think that they don’t have to know anything about the things they talk about?” and “why are African people excluded as consumers or at the very least potential consumers of these products? What does this imply?” (p. 2). The students go on to use Michael Hanchard’s argument that Afro-Modernity, “consisting of the selective incorporation of technologies, discourses and institutions of the modern west within the cultural and political practices of African driven people to create a form of relatively autonomous modernity distinct from its counterparts of Western Europe and North American” (Hanchard, 1999, p. 245) is invisible in the campaign around (RED), and many similar campaigns for development fundraising.

Africa’s framing, in the West, as a geography of deficit and dysfunction has been well documented (Escobar, 1995, Kapoor, 2008; Ray, 2008; Jefferess, 2002; Jere-Malanda, 2006). Discourses of helplessness have typically defined African nations in relation to responding to disease and development. Ray (2008) finds it especially offensive that nowhere in the dominant images and imaginings of aid are Africans

positioned as helping themselves. She uses the example of the American television show *Anderson Copper 360*. In 2006 an episode aired entitled 'The Killing Fields: Africa's Misery, the World's Shame'. It looked at the experience of aid workers in Darfur, who were framed as putting themselves in harms way day after day in order to serve and protect displaced populations in the Darfur region. Although the program used the term 'aid worker' as code for 'foreign aid worker', Ray introduces two statistics that upset that typical narrative. First, of the roughly 14,000 aid workers in Darfur, 13,000 are Sudanese. Second, all of the 12 aid workers killed in Darfur have also been Sudanese. These numbers disrupt the persistent frame of the aid worker as a western actor and, given the same media attention as the 'celebrity diplomat' (Cooper, 2008) the narrative of the more localized aid worker could begin to reframe notions of humanitarian response from the ground up and shift understandings of agency and response.

Discussion of the Media Frame

Unfortunately, local engagement and organization is not a story the dominant mainstream media seems as eager to tell. The reasons for this are likely many, according to current media logic, however, one reason might be more ideological in that the traditional frame of western intervention and salvation firmly positions the west as 'morally right' (Anderson, 2008). Resurrecting theories of modernization and ideas of inferiority, the discourses that ignore or silence African nations in development planning reproduce power dynamics that have been active since early Christian missions, through colonialism, post-colonialism and contribute to the making of neo-colonial structures. The frame is very strategic in that it continues to position intervention as morally right which

functions to: 1) frame western nations as acting in the best interests of ‘distant others’ (Richey and Ponte, 2011) out of logics of service and care; and, 2) maintain a degree of authority and control over ‘distant others’ (particularly over economies, resources and labour).

The development good model also incorporates critiques of consumption into its operations. In this case, instead of seeing the sale of western goods as negatively impacting populations in the global south, the development good is sold as a response to global suffering. A space has been created in which critics of capitalist exploitation can be argued to have their cake and eat it too. Consumer dollars are directed to those in need as Bono encourages all to ‘shop ‘til it stops’ (Cooper, 2008). Going back to discussions of Product (RED), remember the introduction of the Impact Calculator- an online tool offered to consumers to assist them in tallying their purchases and calculating the number of lives saved and forms of treatment offered. TOMS very clearly communicates its ‘One for One’ model in both shoes and now eye glasses. The Canada Collection followed suit, support for NGOs and charities was based on sales performance. The ability of the corporation to assist vulnerable communities was, as a result, framed as only being limited by individuals’ refusal to spend. This attempts to re-articulate the dominant narratives of consumption from an act of oppression to one of liberation for designated vulnerable populations.

Clearly, the development good model has been problematized. Žižek (2009) has argued that such models of assistance simply aid recipient populations to “live a little better but in the same situation that produced them” (10:38). They treat the symptoms of

injustice but never actually respond to the forces that produce global power dynamics in inequity. He adds, “the real aim is to try and reconstruct society on such a basis that poverty will be impossible...and the altruistic virtues have prevented the carrying out of those aims” (2009, 6:25). Through the acts of philanthropy, charity and gift, in the field of international development, the process of consumption and the value of the commodity has been transformed. The commodity now stands in for traditional forms of giving, representing change and social consciousness. Corporations are re-positioned in the global context as caring and responsive to (rather than responsible for) suffering. To conclude, very simply put, when the players change so does the game. In the next section the impact of the development good will be considered beyond spurring individual consumption. How the development good, could potentially, be changing the larger functions of capital in a global context will also be explored.

Changing Sign-Value

By reproducing those problematic images of need, the popular media has tremendous control over the story of aid. The key actors in the model described above (media, celebrities, NGOs, western political structures) can be argued to lend credibility and/or legitimacy to the development good model. Those notions of credibility and legitimacy, then, transform the sign-value (Baudrillard, 1981) of the commodities produced for a particular market. Sign value, the measure of goods derived from the position and prestige ownership affords individuals, provides fulfillment and additional fields of meaning. This transcends straight functional value (its utility or usefulness) and exchange value (value determined by its ability to trade for other commodities, its market

price) to elevate the good within a system of comparable objects (Baudrillard, 1996). For example, items from TOMS, Product (RED) and the Canada Collection are all marked by highly visible logos and imprints that signify their place in a specific model of consumption.

Baudrillard (1981) wrote of the ability of goods to act as communicators. Just as Veblen (1998) noted that some items are consumed as a demonstration of wealth, both the production and consumption of the development good (and their highly visible nature-through media and brand) have the potential to position corporations and individuals as being 'charitable' and 'socially conscious'. Donorship in the gifting process is accompanied by elevated status and prestige, particularly when the gift is celebrated in popular culture and made public through the extensive branding of development good campaigns. Bourdieu (1977) has referred to this rank and position as symbolic capital. That symbolic capital and 'morally right' re-positioning, facilitated by the development good, come together to re-brand corporations and its goods. The entanglement between the commodity and the gift transform the good's sign value to tell another story of consumption. This discussion has pointed to some of the many lures embedded in the development good. The next section will look to some of the ways in which the development good is experienced by consumers.

The Experience of the Development Good as 'Authentic'

The above discussion speaks to how external actors (co-branding with NGOs and/or celebrities) and relationships change the narrative of the commodity and the legitimacy of that narrative, however, the consumer also has a role in 'authenticating' the

development good. It is not just the communicative capacity around the development good that transforms its sign value but also its existence as an experience.

Cultural Capitalism

In *First as Tragedy, Then as Farce* (2009) Žižek uses the term ‘cultural capitalism’, which he defines as a situation in which “we primarily buy commodities neither on account of their utility nor as status symbols; we buy them to get the experience provided by them, we consume them in order to render our lives pleasurable and meaningful” (p. 52). He goes on to connect the idea to Starbucks’ fair trade campaigns that (selectively) profile issues of environment and the politics of trade. Such goods provide an opportunity for more than simply buying and consuming goods, “we are simultaneously doing something meaningful, showing our capacity for care and our global awareness, participating in a collective project” (p.54). The purchase of a development good item acts as a link to imagined populations and places. As previously noted in this work, Richey and Ponte (2011) refer to such recipient populations as ‘distant others’. The transaction of the development good implicates the consumer in the lives of the distant other and in doing so, creates the experience that accompanies the model. Its significance is not just the elevated sign value, although that is indeed part of the appeal but it is the broader cultural experience of participation in a development project.

It is critical to remember that this participation and experience is highly mediated by the model itself through selective sound bites, recipient testimonials and dramatic imagery. As Richey and Ponte have said, it is never really possible for the western consumer (in the case of Product RED) to really understand the experience of living with

HIV in one of the few African countries where (RED) is active. The campaign around (RED), however, creates an imagined experience and a chain of response that is structured to be authorized and initiated by the consumer. Therefore, the true communicative capacity is not just in the transformation of the sign value but in the creation of an imagined and 'authentic' consumer experience. The value of this experience is that it translates into feelings of authenticity.

Power of the Quest for Authenticity

Potter (2010) defines the search for authenticity as one of the most "powerful movements in contemporary life" (p. 4) and "the foremost spiritual quest of our time" (p.3). He uses a study by John Zogby's company, Zogby International, carried out in the mid 2000s. The company polled segments of the American population around personal life, economics, consumption and politics. What Zogby expected to find were narratives and numbers describing blind pursuit of the American Dream, desire for luxury goods and unrealistic perceptions of future success. Zogby is described as being very surprised by findings, which uncovered an interest in truths, transparency and a decline in trust toward public institutions. Zogby articulates his findings as a preference and search for authenticity and meaning in life.

Gilmore and Pine (2007) connect the emerging power of notions of authenticity to several motivating factors: 1) the shift to a more experience-based economy; 2) the ability of technology to distort individual engagement with the world around them- alienating people from other people and thereby creating a pull to 'the real'; 3) understandings of the post-modern turn and the social construction of reality; 4) generations today

(Baby Boomers to Gen Xers) are perceived to be more narcissistic compared to past generations. Tied up in this narcissism is a desire to remain current and fresh, part of that quest is in ongoing investment in these notions of the authentic; finally (and maybe most powerfully), 5) the declining reputations of many traditional institutions- the corporation, schools, universities, religious organizations, politics and politicians, charities and NGOs. People sometimes feel duped when they are made aware of the inner workings of the institutions in which they've invested time, energy and resources. This experience alienates individuals from traditional organizational practices and structures, and pushes them to search for meaning within and beyond existing social structures.

This search is greatly contributing to the emergence of authenticity as one of the most powerful marketing tools available today (Potter, 2010; Gilmore & Pine, 2007). Gilmore and Pine state, "the crucial component of such social authenticity comes from letting customers construct a piece of your business. If costumers create it themselves then they will consider it real" (2007, p. 20). Consumers are more likely to buy into a framework if they feel they've had a hand in its building. At a time when many individuals are highly skeptical towards the grand claims of most traditional institutions (Gilmore and Pine, 2007), including the nonprofit sector, people are able to use their own participation (in this case with the development good) as a testament to its authenticity. For example, because I purchased a (RED) sweatshirt and I experienced this transaction as real/true, I might then be more likely to trust in the 'authenticity' of the following points on the chain of action- leading to the treatment of patients suffering from HIV/AIDS in select African countries. Further, because I may feel that my own intentions

are pure, I might also project those intentions onto the other actors within the (RED) framework. This example teases out the naturally subjective nature of experience and how that might translate into understandings of authenticity.

Authenticity in the Marketplace

Potter (2010) describes the shift from authenticity as pursuit of individual freedom and fulfillment to authenticity a key marketing tool. He provides an interesting discussion of the near impossibility of incorporating issues of ‘authenticity’ into the market, as authenticity is based on the spontaneous whereas the market is manufactured. Therefore, the selling of authenticity “is another way of making it self-conscious, which is again, self-defeating” (p.114). He says, more plainly, if you have to say something is authentic it loses its authenticity. Similar to the gift itself, once it is named it becomes and impossibility (Derrida, 1992). It seems he is arguing that the decontextualisation of the ‘authentic’ placed in the market erases the ‘real’ and ‘de-authenticates’ the items in question. The logic of market, which now underpins the item and/or experience, somehow changes its existence. According to Potter, this ‘conspicuous authenticity’ cannot be blamed on the market or the individual corporations. Instead, we can only look to those who continue to seek meaning and fulfillment through the market and replace the influence of traditional social, cultural and political institutions with economic responses to life’s most critical questions. Potter concludes:

Conspicuous authenticity raises the stakes by turning the search for the authentic into a matter of utmost gravity: not only does it provide me with a meaningful life, but it is also good for society, the environment, even the entire planet. The basic fusion of the two ideals of the privately beneficial and the morally praiseworthy is the bait-and-switch at the heart of the authentic hoax. This desire for the personal and the public to align explains why so much of what passes for authentic living

has a do-gooder spin to it. Yet the essentially status-oriented nature of the activity always reveals itself eventually (p. 126)

The development good provides the appearance of that ideal state where the private and the public are integrated. The alignment creates an experience with the potential to be perceived as authentic, therefore, having considerable consumer appeal and currency in terms of branding the commodities and corporations engaged in this particular model.

The communicative capacity, or the stories told around and within the development good, then transform the sign value of the commodity but also create an opportunity for engagement and experience. Consumers are implicated in a model of response that is, in part, constructed (through media and marketing) and imagined in the minds of participants. These individual feelings of engagement add to the ‘authenticity’ of the model. The influences of authenticity, experience and the transformation of sign value seem to act as mutually reinforcing processes, all of which serve create a distinct and protective force around the development good. The corporation and the commodities are both perceived as ‘authentic’ in their care for and dedication to issues of development. For people alienated by endless cycles of consumption and the oppressive nature of global retail, the development good is marketed as ‘compassionate consumption’ (Richey and Ponte, 2011) and ‘causumerism’ (Sarna-Wojcicki, 2008) and the power of these ideas should not be overlooked.

Conclusions

This is the first of two chapters devoted to considering the ‘Big Picture’ of the development good as it considers the transformative impact of the models communicative capacity. It first uses the critical case of Kony 2012 to demonstrate the currency and

communicative muscle behind campaigns in the name of international development. The rush to 'just do something' in response to suffering and injustice often eclipses a more reflective 'do no harm' approach. The private sector has been able to capitalize on the 'desire for development' (Heron, 2007) felt by consumers and citizens around the world.

Models, such as the development good, also appear to provide a solution to capital's communications dilemma, in relation to CSR, by creating a space where advertising one's social responsibility is critical rather than criticized. This is one of the ways that the development good is able to expand the communicative capacity of the gift and contribute to the changing narrative of brands. Additionally, the development good rearticulates the private sector's relationship with the 'developing world' as the private sector is re-positioned as 'caring' and 'ethical' through engagement with the development good model. This speaks to the transformative impact of the gift, as re-creating the narratives of the commodity, the corporation, consumption and capital. By decontextualizing the issues affecting populations described as developing and refusing to critically examine the role of consumer culture in reproducing global inequality, the myth of the development good not only remains unchallenged but it is celebrated. Stemming from their own engagement and sense of agency through the development good, consumers find something 'authentic' (Gilmore & Pine, 2007) in the model. This recognition makes the model very powerful in terms of producing meaning, circulating ideas and heightening the communicative capacities of the development good.

The next chapter will look at the second key impact of the development good, the potential for philanthropy to be used as a space for negotiating relationships between the

state, civil society and capital. By engaging in philanthropic models, such as the development good, capital has firmly positioned itself within the pillars of civil society and the state. By appearing to take on the responsibility of those pillars (and therefore alleviating the burden on the state, for example), capital could potentially be 'rewarded' with possible 'perks' such as policy influence, consultations, re-branding, freedom from regulations and access to markets- to name a few. In chapter seven, Galtung's (1999) model of a tripartite society will be introduced to look at philanthropy as, in some cases, a mediating body between the three sectors. As an example of this shift, CIDA's pilot projects with NGOs and the extractive industry will be used to illustrate the re-negotiated roles of all three sectors. Finally, the Munk School of Global Affairs's relationship with Barrick Gold and Peter Munk as well as Jim Balsillie's offer of gift to York University (through CIGI) will both be brought into the discussion to further explore the politics, perception and paradox of the philanthropic gift.

Chapter Seven

Re-negotiating the Role of Capital Through Gift? Exploring the Interlock between Philanthropy and Capital and the Plurality of the Gift

The second key implication for the development good discussed in this work is the power of corporate philanthropy to act as a space for renegotiating the relationships between the state, civil society and capital. Galtung (1999) lays out a tripartite model of these three sectors as making up the whole of society with the media negotiating the relationship between all three bodies. This chapter will open with the argument that philanthropy is, increasingly, serving this mediating function and determining both relationships between and the functions of the three sectors.

As has been argued throughout the body of this work, gifts are complex and exist in a tension between generosity and interest (Godbout and Caille, 1992). This is the paradox of the gift. Philanthropy, a specific mode of gifting, is well embedded in this tension (Hewa and Hove, 1997), particularly because the gift emerges from or even shadows capital. The scale of the philanthropic gift heightens and makes the often concealed paradox of the gift visible in a much more public way. The philanthropic examples detailed in this chapter (CIDA's pilot projects between the mining sector and international NGOs, University of Toronto's Munk Centre for Global Affairs, and CIGI's attempted relationship with Osgoode Law School at York University) will all be used to illustrate the complexity of the philanthropic gift and the ethical grey area that exists within the culture of philanthropy. The gift occupies multiple spaces ranging from altruism to self-interest. This chapter positions philanthropy as existing within the

paradox of the gift (ability to appear generous but be motivated by interest) and challenges readers to consider the potential for philanthropic gifts to occupy multiple spaces of interest and generosity and the contradictions that emerge from that plurality.

Re-Negotiating the Role of Capital

Samantha King's (2006) popular text, *Pink Ribbons Inc.*, examines how philanthropy is strategically employed to penetrate markets and retain consumers. Here it should be argued that although the development good is indeed effective in re-branding the commodity through the gifting process, the development good also functions far beyond penetrating markets to actually being active in upholding and extending the role of the global market. Although it is easier to draw the lines between the more direct practices of the development good in the reframing of both, the commodity and the corporation, these processes are contributing to a more general re-positioning of capital. As people are given increased opportunities to engage with the corporation in a 'caring' context, as well as the experience to act as a co-participant in such a model, it is very likely they will become more and more comfortable with the idea of the private sector as active in development responses. In this sense, one of the key functions served by the development good might be strategic public relations for the larger interests of capital in the field of international development. It only makes sense that increased ease, on the part of citizens, will lead to less friction as the boundaries of state, civil society and capital shift.

Zizek (2009), at a lecture for the Royal Society for the Arts (which was later animated and posted online), uses the term 'post- modern capitalism, caring for ecology

and all of that' to refer to this specific form of exchange. In the past, he suggests capitalists in control of the forces of production would profit from exploitative labour and business practices in the morning and redistribute a portion of that profit in the afternoon (he uses the example of George Soros). The new model of capitalist consumption within post-modern capitalism, he calls cultural capitalism, speaks to the meaning and experience provided through the act of consumption. Within the new model, Zizek argues, the two acts (exploiting in the morning and responding in the afternoon) co-exist in the same motion. Through the development good, for example, "you buy your redemption from being only a consumerist...(it) includes the price for its opposite...repairing with the right hand what was ruined by the left hand" (2009, 3:17). What the model seems to be working towards is similar to a 'zero-impact' consumption opportunity where individuals can shop within a guilt-free framework. Himmelman and Mupotsa (2008) borrow the term 'frictionless capitalism' to describe the logic of market responses such as Product (RED).

Aid, and specifically the development good, can then be argued to be very ideological as it begins to fill in the cracks of the capitalist system, preserves the existing structure and absorbs resistance. Kapoor describes aid as ideology because it legitimizes the capitalist system, protects it from calls for a radical dismantling of existing power structures and supports particular operations of capital (promoting the celebrity brand, self-promotion and 'elite centered politics') (Ilan Kapoor, Nov 24, 2010; Kapoor, 2013). The commodity and the corporations are reframed as response rather than threat and grand cycles of consumptions are permitted to move forward with reduced friction. It

seems, however, that in some cases philanthropy is being utilized and exploited to do more than simply ease the flow or grease the wheels of capital.

Neoliberal 'Philanthropy' and the Development Good

King (2006), in her discussion on the politics and economics of fundraising for breast cancer, notes the intersection between philanthropy and neoliberalism. She writes that although philanthropic 'causesumer' initiatives are not directly encouraging market deregulation and the privatization of publicly funded services they are extending "market identities, values and practices" (p.98) into new territories. In her text King speaks directly to women's health but the same can be said for the field in international development. The case studies of the development good lay out multiple responses to injustice and the unfair distribution of resources that are all embedded in market structures. This creates a very narrow definition of 'aid' and 'assistance' by depoliticizing global power relations and erasing both transnational and local initiatives, grassroots organizations, social movements, activism and engagement.

Notions of responsibility are constructed through discourses of consumption and markets rather than citizenship and nations (acknowledging the overlapping nature of the two). The development good delegitimizes and critiques the role of the state and civil society, again looking at Bono's quote, "philanthropy is like hippy music, holding hands. Red is more like punk rock, hip hop, this should feel like hard commerce," (Weber, 2006). Anderson (2008) would likely agree. She compares the RED Manifesto (listed in chapter four) to Marx's Communist Manifesto. (RED), she argues, is not a call to rise up against the forces of production and consumption but rather to rise up and support the

capitalist culture. Anderson states, “unlike Marx’s Communist Manifesto which advocates for revolutionary economic restructuring and an end to capitalism, Bono’s (RED) Manifesto recommends no change to economic or political systems, but rather, advances a neo-liberal assumption that capitalism itself can cure societies’ ills.” (p. 9). The development good’s privileging of the role and ability of consumer capital in responding to notions of global suffering and underdevelopment erases, or at least obscures, the structural and systemic relations of dominance and effects of consumption. This goes back to Zizek’s sentiments, “you buy your redemption from being only a consumerist...(it) includes the price for its opposite...repairing with the right hand what was ruined by the left hand” (2009, 3:17).

The development good is simply a market response. For example, looking once again at the two (RED) Manifestos that have been published, there is a slight difference in how they approach partnership. The original Manifesto stated:

(RED) is not a charity. It is simply a business model. You buy (RED) stuff, we get the money, buy the pills and distribute them. They take the pills, stay alive, and continue to take care of their families and contribute socially and economically in their communities.

If they don’t get the pills they die. We don’t want them to die. We want to give them the pills. And we can. And, it’s easy (Join Red, 2008).

The more recent Manifesto says, “(RED) can’t accomplish this alone. It will take all of us to get there- governments, health organizations, companies and you” (Join Red, 2012).

The rhetoric shifts slightly from (RED) as *the* response to (RED) as an integral part of the response demonstrating a bit of an acknowledgement of the other actors in the fight against HIV/AIDS. However both Manifestos open with the argument that, as consumers ‘we’ have a great deal of power. Of course, there are no critical discussions around the

impact of consumer culture, global capitalism, the politics of pharmaceutical responses or the distribution of resources on the fight to eliminate HIV/AIDS suffering. Capital is protected and preserved through the development good.

Limited Opportunity for Advocacy and Awareness

Development good models tend to claim to be active in advocacy and the dissemination of information related to development awareness (Richey and Ponte, 2011; Cooper, 2008), yet, a recent study questions the development good's actual interest in or commitment and ability to educate. Anderson (2008) conducted a content analysis on (RED)'s MySpace site over its first year (2007). She categorized and coded 1600 responses to (RED) and found that the majority of comments tended to fall into three categories. The first one she calls 'general love or thanks for (RED)' (25.5%). Here consumers speak in a very broad way about the model without referencing specific products or processes. The second category is called 'products' (21.6%) and this obviously points to comments referencing specific commodities circulated by the (RED) model.

Finally, the category of 'posting about the cause' (18.73%). These numbers seem to suggest an increased awareness- one of the intentions behind the model. Anderson (2008), however, argues that these comments, for the most part, do not specifically discuss AIDS, treatment, or Africa. Out of the 1600 comments posted on the (RED) website only 8 directly wrote about Africa and 35 about AIDS. Some postings made indirect links to both AIDS (85) and Africa (58). This means that less than 9% of the 1600 comments on the MySpace page include *any* reference to AIDS in Africa and less

than 0.5% position Africa as the subject of the posting. The remaining categories were not easily grouped but represent holiday greetings, comments that about MySpace and social media, postings of (RED) slogans and pictures. This problematizes the arguments that the development good provides an opportunity for awareness and education. Consumers, according to the MySpace postings, appear to embrace the notion of a cause but not the specifics of a particular cause. This is not entirely surprising given that the advertising and rhetoric around (RED) emphasizes the language of change without exploring the politics and practices of change.

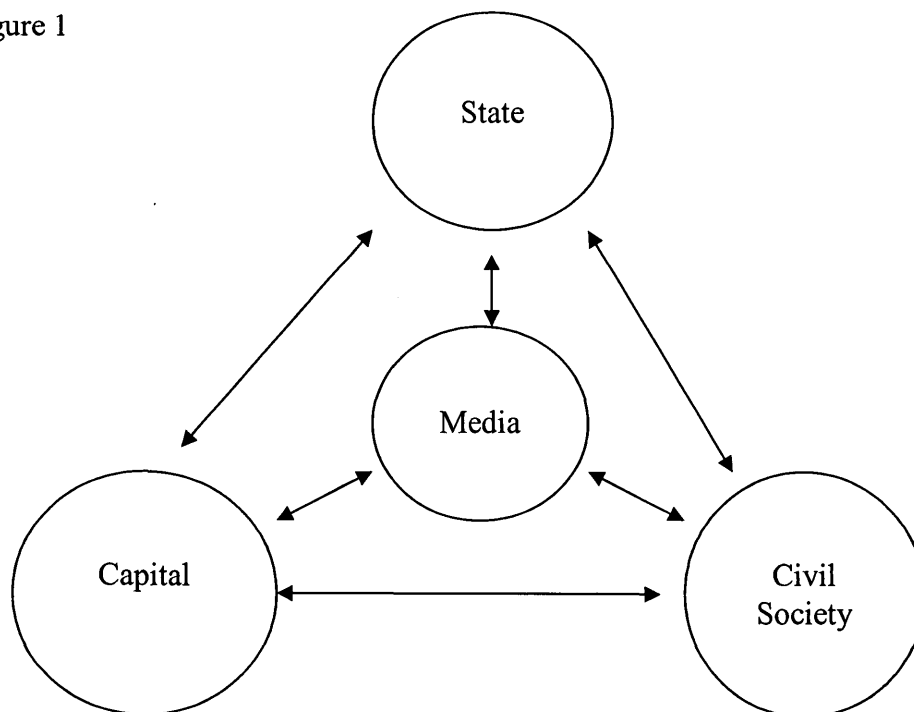
Wirgau, Webb, Farley and Jensen (2010) argue that Product (RED) erases issues of AIDS in Africa in favour of the market, consumers and commodities. (RED) represents a failure in promoting citizen engagement in a way that replaces traditional forms of activism with mediated campaigns driven by corporate interests. The authors further argue that (RED) is guilty of “conflating shopping with caring” (p. 621). Everything, beyond the bounds of the market, pales within the structure of the development good. Supporting a ‘profit before people’ (market rather than civil society or market as civil society) notion of change, the development good is firmly situated in a very neoliberal culture of response. This raises vital questions around the longer-term impacts of strengthened market presence and the re-negotiated roles of capital in the fields of humanitarian and international development responses.

Tripartite Model of Philanthropy

In order to further discuss the role of the development good, Galtung’s model of communication needs to be introduced. Johan Galtung’s “State, Capital, and the Civil

Society: A Problem of Communication” published in *Towards Equity in Global Communication* (1999) offers a tripartite framework for looking at the functioning of a society. He identifies the state, capital and civil society as structuring social relations and embeds the experience of all citizens (directly and indirectly) in the operations of all three bodies. However, Galtung reminds that the three spheres do not always work well together, in part because they operate based on three separate logics. State logic includes, for example, ultimate power to rule, kill and tax. Capital logic, on the other hand, focuses on the creation of wealth and the identification of market competitors. Finally, civil society emphasizes the satisfaction of human needs (Galtung lists survival, well-being, identity and freedom), evaluating one’s power position, and a tendency to see oneself as subservient to the state and capital. Galtung argues that it is the relationships between these bodies that determine or define a society. Once he lays out his model, Galtung further suggests that the problems of a society can often be traced back to a lack of communication between these three pillars.

Figure 1



The media's role is, in theory, to mediate the exchange of information between the three bodies by making the internal working of all spheres visible to each other. Galtung asks if it is possible for the media to actually fulfill these communication demands. Two reasons he feels this remains challenging are, the media can only really provide information but not necessarily create opportunities for rich dialogue and, the media needs to be incredibly strong in order to not become subservient to either the state or capital. Therefore the ability of the media to fully mediate can be hampered. The author admits that other organizations, collectives and structures can be used to enhance communication but they too come with limits and focus on particular relationships rather than the model as a whole.

Finally, Galtung reminds the reader that the state always has a stake in capital and capital has an interest in the decisions, protections and policies of the state. These relationships between state/kingdom and capital have a history of corruption. This potential remains, particularly, around a lack of transparency. Interestingly, Galtung describes corruption as a process or occurrence of 'blocked communication'. When information is not circulated (intentionally or not) citizens lack the knowledge to make fully informed decisions. Therefore the concealment and manipulation of information is linked to corruption. Decision-making is positioned as creating balance between the three spheres, however, Galtung points to the tremendous and ever increasing role of capital in this model. For this reason, issues of capital have to be carefully considered given its potential to overshadow and exploit the other two pillars.

By importing Galtung's model into discussions of philanthropy, it will be suggested that philanthropy has become a new global medium. The argument is not that philanthropy has replaced the media (although they have a very close and strategic relationship). Philanthropy is proposed as another medium being utilized by capital to broker relationships with the civil sector and create a 'legitimate' space for the private sector in matters traditionally reserved for the state.

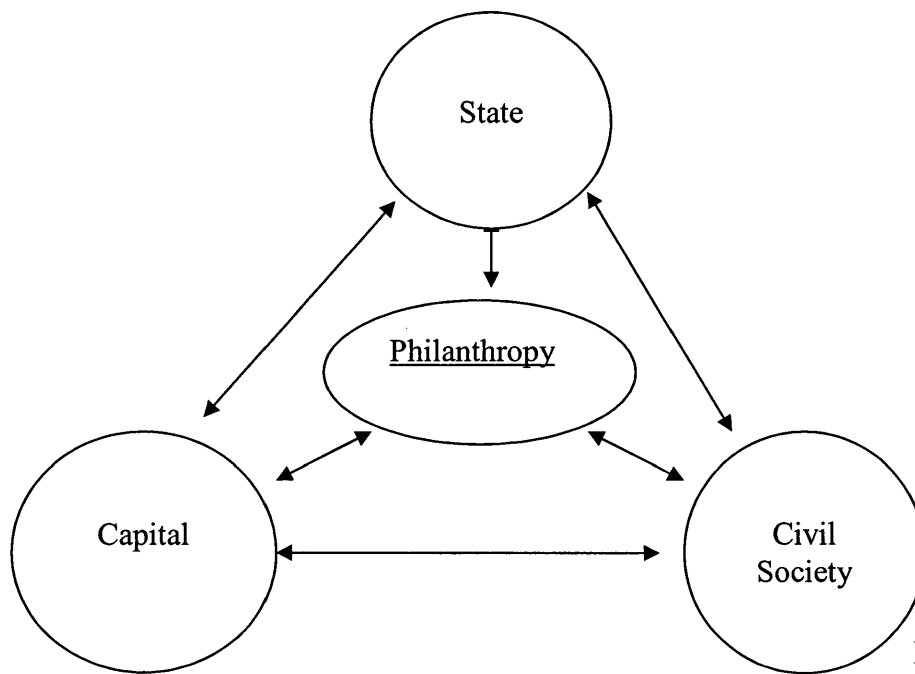


Figure 2

Capital uses philanthropy to 'tax' consumers and support development initiatives around the world. Through models such as the development good, languages and structures are built to provide a space for capital. As the state disinvests from social infrastructure, the space for capital widens. The development good also creates a culture of indebtedness toward capital, on behalf of the state. This speaks to Galtung's point around the strategic relationships that develop between state and capital. However, in many ways the

development good surpasses the role of ‘filling in the cracks’ to taking over, as capital is now afforded new roles traditionally reserved for the state. Philanthropy allows the sphere of capital to appear to disrupt the logics identified by Galtung and to, formally, enter the broad realm of ‘care’ for the environment, populations and places. The development good’s existence communicates that the state lacks a monopoly on development and that capital ‘cares’. This has also been widely acknowledged by the United Nations through the Global Compact’s interest in “strategic policy initiative for businesses that are committed to aligning their operations and strategies with ten universally accepted principles in the areas of human rights, labour, environment and anti-corruption” (United Nations, 2012), and several national development initiatives such as USAID’s Global Development Alliance program, the UK’s announcement of a Private Sector Department within DFID (Department For International Development) and CIDA’s ongoing interest in private-public partnerships.

CIDA and Its Extractive Sector Pilot Project Partnerships

Matters of international development, in this case humanitarian and foreign aid responses have traditionally been understood as under the purview of the state and civil society. Of course, the private sector has long been active in the field of development as contracted service providers, reaching out to new markets, making charitable and philanthropic gifts as well as providing employment and securing labour. This, naturally, led to an increased blurring and overlap between the three sectors- capital, the state and civil society- especially given the complexity of globalized markets. Capital has not, however, been as active in directing and coordinating the delivery of development

programming funded by Canadian tax dollars. Here, CIDA's 2011 announcement to fund partnerships between the mining sector and NGOs will be used as a solid example of the shifting and re-negotiated boundaries of capital in a philanthropic 'development' context. Particular attention will be paid to the structure of these partnerships, critical response to the launch of the programs and some troubling implications for this shift in response.

Historical Look at CIDA

Prior to the late 1950s, Canada supported international projects and missions through the United Nations (CIDA, 2012 July 5). As a result of an increase in international pleas, 1959 saw the formation of the Department of Trade and Commerce's Economic and Technical Assistance Bureau. The Bureau was shifted to (what was called at the time) the Department of External Affairs and re-named the External Aid Office. In the late 1960s, CIDA was created to respond to populations in need and living in poverty. Its mission is currently listed as being to "lead Canada's international mission to help people living in poverty" (CIDA, 2012, July 5) and its mandate is to "manage Canada's support and resources effectively and accountably to achieve meaningful, sustainable results and engage in policy development in Canada and internationally, enabling Canada's effort to realize its development objectives" (CIDA, 2012, July 5).

The three priority themes listed are: 1) Increasing food security; 2) securing the future of children and youth; and, 3) stimulating sustainable economic growth (note it does not say where). In addition, the cross-cutting themes include: 1) environmental sustainability; 2) equality between men and women; and, 3) assisting in strengthening governance institutions and practices. Finally, Canada's Aid Effectiveness Agenda

(CIDA, 2012, July 8) abides by three criteria in its selection of countries eligible for support- need, ability to benefit meaningful from assistance and alignment with Canada's foreign policy. Here, the language around 'aligned foreign policy' and 'stimulating economic growth' serve as a broad basis for CIDA's interest in "building partnerships to accelerate development results" (CIDA, 2012, July 8). Potential development partners are listed as Canadian and international citizens, donors, multilateral organizations, civil society and the private sector. CIDA has come a long way from submitting financial and in-kind services to the UN to strategically embedding foreign policy objectives into structures of support for other countries.

The government of Canada, in 2009, implemented a CSR strategy for the extractive sector. It was designed with the intention of "improving the competitive advantage of Canadian international extractive sector companies by enhancing their ability to manage social and environmental risks" (CIDA, 2011, September 29). The four pillars of the strategy include: 1) supporting the management capacities of developing countries in mineral, oil and gas production and enhancing their ability to benefit from the process through the reduction of poverty; 2) the promotion of CSR performance guidelines and benchmarks; 3) the creation of the Office of the Extractive Sector Counsellor; and, 4) supporting the coordination of a CSR Centre for Excellence. CIDA has been embedded in all four of the pillars listed but is particularly active in leading the first of the four.

Extractive Sector Pilot Projects

In September of 2011, the Honorable Beverly J. Oda, Minister of International Cooperation, announced three controversial pilot projects in Africa and South America. These initiatives were shaped by CIDA's Sustainable Economic Growth Priority and Canada's CSR strategy for the extractive sector described above. In a press release from her office it is argued that:

The Canadian extractive industries — particularly mining industries — are the largest in the world, working in many developing countries that have an abundance of natural resources. Working in partnership with the private sector, these resources can contribute to poverty reduction in many of these countries and improve the standard of living for their populations...CIDA is supporting Canada's Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) Strategy for the Canadian International Extractive Sector with initiatives that will contribute to sustainable economic growth, create jobs and long-term poverty reduction. (CIDA, 2011, September 29)

The first of the three projects represents a relationship between World University Service of Canada, Rio Tinto Alcan (\$428,000) and CIDA (\$500,000) over three years in Ghana to provide skills training to 400 young people in the area of economic development. The partnership is also imagined to provide access to clean water and education services.

"Canada should be commended for their support to this pilot initiative which will strengthen the relationship between the local government and mining firms...This will ensure that communities secure sustainable benefits from the presence of mining operations in their district." (CIDA, 2011, September 29).

The second partnership is between Plan Canada (\$900,000), IAMGOLD (\$1,000,000) and CIDA (\$5,700,000) over 5.5 years. It exists to support job skills training

in the mining sector and beyond. Rosemary McCarney, President and CEO of Plan

Canada says:

We welcome the Canadian Government's commitment to sustaining the economic growth of developing countries, like Burkina Faso, and to strengthening the practice of corporate social responsibility...Plan's first commitment is to the best interests of children and the communities in which we work and CIDA's contribution to this project will help to create smart, appropriate, and safe training and employment opportunities for local youth (CIDA, 2011, September 29).

The project seeks to “develop Burkina Faso’s human capital. Girls and boys between 13-18 will receive jobs skill training linked to labour market needs in the mining sector and its sub-sectors” (CIDA, 2011, September 29). The third pilot project is based in Peru and is a union between World Vision Canada, Barrick Gold (\$500,000) and CIDA (\$1,000,000) over 3.5 years to ‘increase the income and standard living’ of people in the region. President and CEO of World Vision Canada explains “It will help residents of Quirulvilca, Peru, especially women, youth, and people with disabilities, become more involved and influential in their own community planning. In addition to providing loans for people to start small businesses, there will be capacity-building for local leaders to ensure Quirulvilca follows a path of sustainable development in the long-term” (CIDA, 2011, September 29).

A fourth project was funded, a slightly different model, it coordinates the implementation of the Andean Regional Initiative for Promoting Effective Corporate Social Responsibility to the sum of \$20,000,000 over 5 years. Active in Columbia, Peru and Bolivia it was designed to increase local capacity for development and dialogue between private sector and communities. Oda says, “CIDA can play an important role to help countries achieve their aspirations. Encouraging partnership with the private sector

and civil society organizations provides an opportunity for our government to help companies fulfill their corporate social responsibilities and benefit those in need" (CIDA, 2011, September 29). Incidentally, Rio Tinto Alcan reported gross profits of \$726 million, IAMGOLD \$597 million and Barrick Gold \$ 3.2 billion in 2010 (Schulman & Nieto, 2011, December 19) leaving one to wonder why the companies need the assistance of tax payers dollars in the fulfillment of their CSR mandates.

Critical Response to Pilot Projects

Earlier this year, *The Globe and Mail* ran an article entitled, "CIDA funds seen to be subsidizing mining firms" (Leblanc, 2012, January 29). Here the controversial new initiative from CIDA to fund pilot projects in mining communities is positioned as financially supporting profitable corporations in the pursuit of capital at a time when long-running CIDA projects are being dropped and budgets are being drastically reduced. The culture of funding within CIDA appears to be shifting from 'traditional' funding partners to private sector partnerships. Pierre Gratton, president of the Canadian Mining Association describes the movement in Canada's foreign-aid policy as one he is "encouraged by...these projects help improve the image of the industry...because they are meaningful and have value...this is not just PR" (LeBlanc, 2012, January 29). Leblanc notes that these changes to foreign-aid have been framed by Prime Minister Harper to "assist in building our investments here" (2012, January 29), when meeting with Barrick Gold in Tanzania back in 2007. Leblanc further notes that since taking power in 2006 the Conservative party has approved over \$50 000 000 in CIDA projects tied to the mining industry. Interestingly, on its website, CIDA very proudly states:

As recently as 2007, over half of Canadian food aid to developing countries had to be purchased in Canada, as was a third of Canada's non-food aid. Tied aid is not cost effective and is inefficient. It undermines the ability of developing nations to produce or buy goods for themselves and delays the assistance from reaching the people who so desperately need it.

To maximize the value of Canada's international assistance, the government untied all food aid in 2008 and has set 2012-2013 as the deadline for fully untying the goods and services delivered through Canadian aid programs (CIDA, 2012, July 8)

The tying of aid to donor countries has long been criticized, not just for its inefficiency, but also for its material interests in the field of development (Kapoor, 2008). At a time when the voices of development scholars, practitioners and even funding organizations have become very vocal about this practice, particularly through the circulation of high-profile reporting, such as Actionaid's *Real Aid* reports of 2006 and 2007 (which stated that less than 1/3 of bilateral aid is 'real', defined as being able to target the reduction of extreme poverty compared to 2/3 to the aid described as 'phantom aid' which has no identifiable impact of the reduction of poverty), it might seem that as CIDA and the wider government of Canada is releasing its grip on the spending of emerging and vulnerable economies. Unfortunately, it seems equally possible that CIDA has, perhaps, found an alternative and even more lucrative way to embed itself in the economies of nations around the world- by unofficially 'tying' projects to the mining sector.

Following the announcement of the pilot projects, Mining Watch Canada posted letters directed to CIDA, Barrick Gold and World Vision from the Andean Coordinating Committee of Indigenous Organizations (CAOI) representing Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia and Peru. In a letter addressed to Oda, Miguel Palacin Quispe, General Coordinator of CAOI, writes:

Unfortunately, Canadian mining companies have a bad track record in our countries, where companies such as Barrick Gold are the source of many conflicts because of the dispossession of lands, destruction of water sources, and ignoring of internationally recognized rights (ILO Convention 169, the UN Declaration on Rights of Indigenous Peoples, among others), that lead to multiple environmental and social impacts on our communities.

In our countries the right to prior, free and informed consent is not observed before mining concessions are handed out on indigenous lands. The communities appeal to all legal options available and don't get an appropriate response to their just demands. Then they protest and their leaders are persecuted, repressed, and submitted to judicial processes under grave charges.

The solution is not to mediate and negotiate based on what has already been done, and no 'social works' carried out with the mining companies can compensate for the damage done, particularly in the face of rights having been violated.

So for these reasons we ask that your ministry refuse any part in this development policy, and instead that you take responsibility to ensure that Canadian companies respect, and demand that States respect, the rights of the indigenous peoples affected before anyone seeks mining concessions in our countries. (Palacin Quispe, 2012, February 9)

Potential Implications

On *The Dominion's* website, a space devoted to independent journalism,

Schulman and Nieto (2012, December 19) submitted an article entitled 'Foreign Aid to Mining Firms'. Here, the journalists identify 'disturbing implications' for the emerging relationships between politics and mining actors, especially the new role of the NGO in framing the image of private sector industry. The article uses the following quote from

Yao Graham of Third World Network Africa based in Ghana, "The Canadian government is using aid to support the expansion of Canadian mining...[and] to determine development paths inside countries according to the logic of mining companies"

(Schulman & Nieto, 2012, December 19). Catherine Coumans of Mining Watch Canada states that the Canadian government is very interested in drawing lines between notions of development and mining but argues that "when a mine goes in, there is a development

deficit created immediately because there are impacts that can last literally thousands of years on water, on land, on air...and these impacts can be devastating. It can mean that people literally have to leave the area and live somewhere else because they can't live there anymore" (Schulman & Nieto, 2012, December 19). She further compares the NGO's work in conjunction with the mining industry as a 'band-aid on a gaping wound'. To conclude, the journalists see these partnerships as directing taxpayers dollars into the larger project of reframing the global image of the mining sector, in this case Canadian mining companies.

To do this, leading NGOs are being used grant legitimacy to private sector investment. One might argue that NGOs are free to refuse such partnership offers, that in theory might be true, but the reality is that many of these organizations exist in cultures of funding where pools of support are dramatically shrinking. There is an interesting power dynamic that can not be ignored. It isn't difficult to understand the pull of multi-million dollar grants. Chris Eaton, Executive Director of NGO partner WUSC, perhaps, justifies the partnership by saying that these unions may be able to 'nudge along good practice' although he doesn't agree that the relationships are carrying out CSR for the mining industry (Schulman & Nieto, 2012, December 19). There seems to be a lack of enthusiasm around the structures from the perspective of the NGO but an acknowledgement that some good might come from such programs.

Problematic Functions of the Models

If we were to shift to the bigger picture, however, articulating direct connections between development and mining (which is exactly what these initiatives attempt to do)

erases the injustice around mining operations in a global context and shifts attention away from regulatory frameworks and on to programming supports. This serves, at least, three key functions. First, the corporation is framed as ‘caring’ and socially responsible on a global stage. Second, it shifts the dialogue away from further regulating operations (extraction and labour policies and practices) to one of human development. In this shift the development project is depoliticized, re-positioning the corporation as ‘saviour’ as opposed to a ‘threat’ from which populations have to be protected. Finally, programming eases the path of mining companies far beyond superficial public relations spin. Just as missionaries were often first sent in to foreign lands on ‘civilizing missions’ (Thorne, 1999) these programs lay critical groundwork that creates an indebtedness to capital, such as access to water and support for vulnerable populations. That indebtedness may be exploited by mining companies to silence resistance but equally important, many of these initiatives focus on skill development which could be argued to be readying and securing skilled labour for mining operations.

Aid or Raid?

Naturally, there are multiple and intersecting interests at play. In an article by Harsia Walia, entitled ‘Canadian Aid or Corporate Raid’ the author quotes Vijay Prashad as characterizing the strategic placement and practice of international NGOs as “an arm of the international bureaucracy that ends up, consciously or unconsciously, doing the work of imperialism” (2006, October 28). Walia also quotes Dr. Hari Sharma as stating that “development aid through CIDA has been known to be a form of economic raid, particularly because it operates through a politically ideological framework...Canadians

need to realize that Canadian companies and Canadian development agencies and NGOs, as a whole, uphold corporate interests and serve the overall objective of pacification with an institutionalized neoliberal framework” (Walia, 2006, October 28).

Former Member of Parliament, author and political blogger Dennis Gruending, posted, ‘CIDA, Barrick Gold, New Partners in Development?’ on February 2, 2012. In this entry he notes Oda’s silence around CIDA’s discontinuation of funding after 35 years of support to KAIROS (as well as several of Africa’s poorest countries) compared to the publicity around the mining pilot projects. He points to a further and more explicit alignment between CIDA’s funding priorities and Canada’s trade interests. Gruending (2012, February 2) writes that when asked by *The Citizen* how she distinguishes between issues of trade and international development Oda replied, ‘I don’t separate them’.

The statement above is telling and accounts for recent changes in funding processes for Canadian NGOs. The post-war development paradigm has always had the material and symbolic interests of donors at heart (Kapoor, 2008). There has, however, been a re-structuring of relationships as the state, capital and civil society (the NGO) have, in the past, operated on very different logics and served very different functions. The three pilot projects discussed here blur the typical roles of the three bodies to a degree that appears to represent a new paradigm in development funding.

The former Moderator of the United Church of Canada is concerned about these new relationships, “No matter how responsible a corporation tries to be, there are inevitable differences of opinion and conflicts on ecological, human rights, labour, cultural, and other issues. So sometimes an NGO needs to become an advocate for the

communities on these conflicts. The company and NGO have different roles, and NGOs should not provide a cover or fig leaf for corporate actions. Too close a relationship is fraught with conflicts of interest” (Gruending, 2012, February 2). This quote raises several questions around whose interests are being served and what this shift in funding means for development projects in regions where there are few businesses cases to be made. Not only is a dynamic created in which it becomes very risky for NGO partners to speak out against mining practices but given the direction of development funding it becomes equally risky for NGOs (in general) to speak out against any private sector activity in which there is a geo-political interest.

Going back to the refusal of CIDA to further fund KAIROS, Immigration Minister Jason Kenny argued that the group had anti-Semitic leanings. Gruending (2012), however, notes that KAIROS is primarily made up of Protestant and Catholic churches (compared to World Vision, one of the pilot project partners that tend to be a much more evangelical organization- and Conservative friendly) but more importantly, KAIROS was very vocal in its criticism of the government’s role in developing the oil sands in Canada. As Galtung (1999) noted in his model, when the boundaries of the three sectors (state, civil society and capital) begin to shift and capital takes on some of the responsibilities of the state there is a culture or relationships of indebtedness that emerges. Galtung argues that capital is ‘rewarded’ and receives ‘perks’ for its involvement beyond profit accumulation from both civil society and the state. An example of such might be the state easing the path of capital in particular situations and when one notes the states’ refusal to fund long standing advocacy organizations which happen to be critical of the geopolitical

interests of the state and more importantly capital (as KAIROS was), one can't help but draw those lines. Similarly, when NGOs working in the field of development are integrated into partnership models with resource extraction firms, the corporation's 'philanthropic' contributions to NGO programming create a power dynamic that could act to silence partners and quiet resistance. These are but a few of the many benefits, rewards and perks experienced by capital for their apparent social investment. The following section will consider some of the broader implications for the charitable gift.

Philanthropy and the Production of Knowledge

Looking a bit beyond the field of international development, but not at all unconnected, let's think about philanthropic engagement and the additional forms of access and power it provides in relation to the production of knowledge and flow of information. In Linda McQuig and Neil Brooks's text, *The Trouble with Billionaires* (2010), they highlight the trend in university culture, looking specifically at the University of Toronto, to supplement ever decreasing public funding with significant private donations. She states that University of Toronto collected more than \$120 million from private donations in 2010 alone. Universities are able to offer valuable cultural and social capital in return for donations. Buildings, rooms, libraries, hospitals, plaques, statues and institutes are all named to honour significant financial gifts and honorary degrees are bestowed upon donors. McQuig and Brooks share a story from University of Toronto biologist, Paul Hamel, who says that faculty lobbied to have the Health Sciences program named after Tommy Douglas (who is typically understood to be the architect of Canada's healthcare system). He explains that faculty members were unsuccessful because the

university felt that naming the building after Douglas conflicted with the fundraising potential that surrounds the naming of programs and spaces.

The University of Toronto, Peter Munk and Barrick Gold

In the early 2000s the University of Toronto (U of T) established the Munk Centre for International Studies with a gift of \$6.4 million from Peter Munk. Munk is a Canadian businessman and founder of Barrick Gold. The Centre was renamed in 2010 as the Munk School of Global Affairs after an additional gift of \$35 million, this time from Peter Munk and his wife Melanie Jane Bosanquet. Here, the Munk case at U of T is introduced to illustrate the tremendous complexity that surrounds the gift in corporate philanthropy. Through the scale of gift and the often public nature of philanthropy, the paradox of the gift- its tendency to appear or be framed as gesture generosity though there is a clear potential for it to have an eye on key material and symbolic interests- sometimes becomes a part of a wider dialogue. Additionally, compared to more traditional gifts, philanthropy's interlock with capital and scale of gift heighten and intensify the paradox. The following section will explore the paradox of the gift through philanthropic donations to U of T and consider the potential for and perceptions of interest and altruism embedded in the gift.

The Munk family's gifts to U of T have not been without controversy for the lines drawn between gift and private interests. For example, the *Munk Out of U of T* campaign (a coalition of concerned students and professors) has been vocal and active since 2011. Linda McQuig and Neil Brooks (2010) have written explicitly about the perceived disconnect between Munk's generous philanthropic profile against accusations of extreme

human rights violations and environmental degradation, especially in indigenous communities around the world. The *Debunking Barrick* report (Saunders, 2013), similarly, highlights the contradictions between the public rhetoric of Barrick Gold's CSR agenda and the displacement, coercion, violence and ecological disasters inflicted on populations in the vicinity of Barrick Gold mines. The troubling representation of Barrick Gold around the world compared to the personal philanthropic profile of the Munk family have left many wondering about the full meaning and implications of the gift to U of T.

Influence in the Production of Knowledge Potential Threats to Academic Freedom

Why should we be concerned about how billionaires spend or 'gift' their money? Does, or can, 'philanthropy' pose a potential threat to academic integrity? The University of Toronto serves as an interesting example of the grey ethical area around philanthropy, power and freedom as well as the constant negotiations of altruism and self-interest. The *Munk Out of U of T* campaign (2011) circulated a very popular zine entitled, *Stop the Corporate Takeover*. Here the collective first problematizes the secrecy and lack of transparency in negotiating the memorandum of agreement between U of T and the Munk family. The University's President, Chair and Vice Chair of the Governing Council allegedly bypassed discussion and a vote with the wider Governing Council and Academic Board. The donation was concealed for several months and details of the memorandum were withheld from the governors and university membership. This suggestion was also supported by McQuaig and Brooks in *The Trouble with Billionaires* (2010). In April of 2011, Noam Chomsky publicly spoke out against U of T's acceptance of support from Peter Munk and the dangers of corporatization in relation to universities.

The University of Toronto magazine (February, 2011) even featured an article by two professors, Paul Hammel and John Valleau, entitled 'The Perils of Philanthropy' that theorized around the many ways in which the Munk's philanthropic gift could impact setting agendas and university practices.

Second, the U of T collective considers the possibility for threats to academic integrity and freedom. Aside from the Munk family requiring that the School review its operations to a board that they appoint to ensure ongoing funding, there is apparently an additional \$15 million donation that can be withheld if the Munk family doesn't feel that the School is effective in meeting its objectives (based on their own measures). This point was picked up by Robertson (November, 2010) in *The Varsity* (U of T's student newspaper) where the University's Provost, Cheryl Misak, rejected the idea of Peter Munk exerting control over the school but acknowledged that funders do require accountability. They want to know where their gift is going, how it is being utilized and whether or not it is making its intended impact. This raises an interesting point in questions of gift and intent, where is the line between accountability and control? To date, there does not seem to be evidence suggesting that the Munk family has tried to exert influence beyond the bounds of the existing Memorandum of Agreement but, again, that does not mean that there is not a 'soft' culture of influence or a legal space in which the Munk family can apply pressure to the Munk School of Global Affairs and U of T. Incidentally, according to the *Munk Out of U of T* (2010) campaign, Barrick Gold has also sued academic publications critical of their overseas operations and, as noted above,

demanding that the School house the right-leaning Canadian International Council think tank.

Finally, Barrick Gold has been tied to multiple human rights abuses and environmental degradation in countries around the world, which is a serious concern for U of T students and faculty. The U of T zine, *Stop the Corporate Takeover* (2011), states that a Swiss research agency, Covalace ranked Barrick Gold as number 12 out of 581 on a list of the least ethical corporations based on evidence over a seven-year span. In Papua New Guinea, reports from Amnesty International (2010) and Human Rights Watch (2013) have positioned Barrick Gold as responsible for burning over 130 permanent residences, beating, harassing and detaining villagers as well as employing security guards accused of engaging in gang rapes at the mine in Porgera. Researchers from Harvard University and New York University (Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Development, October 20, 2009) testified in the Canadian House of Parliament to documenting decades of extreme violence, killings, sexual assaults, rape, and the failures of local police to investigate such allegations in Porgera. The researchers, themselves, in their testimony, acknowledged witnessing mine security threatening local villagers with violence and rape. Additionally, environmental devastation linked to mining has been extensive, populations have routinely been displaced and claims have been made stating that some of the land acquisition was fraudulently obtained.

What has also been ignored in many of the discussions celebrating the Munk family's 'gift' is that for Munk's \$35 million investment he will receive \$16 million in tax breaks. Add to that the provincial and federal governments are each contributing \$25

million to the School. This means that \$66 million dollars of the Munk Centre's financing is contributed by taxpayers and only \$19 million comes from private funding. For this reason, McQuiag and Brooks (2010) ask that the public frame this process as securing a 'personal legacy' rather than a public gift. For \$19 million, Munk not only gains the prestige and position attention that accompanies philanthropy and donorship (desired or not) but he has also coordinated \$66 million dollars in additional government funding into a project he has shaped (the use of which could, potentially, be influenced by the Munk family, though there is no evidence to suggest this). The gift initiates power dynamics, and in the case of U of T's gift from the Munk family, those power dynamics are very real, whether or not they are performed or engaged.

The concerns around Peter Munk and Barrick Gold outline the social, political and economic power of philanthropy to act in the larger interests of capital are legitimate. Traditionally, philanthropy is understood to illuminate and respond to injustice and need but in this context, the gift could be used to create very particular power dynamics and relations of indebtedness that can act in the interest of the 'donors' rather than the 'recipients'. The event of the gift and the celebration of philanthropy have the potential to shift the dialogue by framing elite populations as 'generous', 'altruistic' and 'civic minded' instead of embedding those same populations in the structures that produce the global inequality that philanthropy attempts to address. Philanthropy, in this case, could be argued to create a new narrative around Barrick Gold and the Munk family. This example brings up several key tensions in the study of the gift. It is important to remember that the motivations to give are multiple, overlapping, conscious, unconscious

and at times in conflict (Komter, 2005; Sykes, 2005; Beatty, Yoon, Grunert & Helgeson, 1996; Cheal, 1996). Because the gift has the potential to act in the interests of capital does not necessarily mean that this potential is the single or, even, primary inspiration.

The gift, in this case the philanthropic donation, could very well come out of a space of generosity, an interest in giving back or contributing to something larger but because of the paradox of the gift (its tendency to appear altruistic but also be underpinned by self-interest), understanding and interpreting the gift is incredibly complex. As McQuaig and Brooks have argued, the philanthropic gift to U of T appears to mark Munk's "generosity and commitment to higher education and global understanding" (p. 196), the paradox being that it remains entirely possible for the Munk's philanthropic gift to be generous, interested in higher education and global understanding while simultaneously advancing the interests of the private sector. The gift is, again, a space of multiple, competing, conflicting and coordinated interests. Philanthropy's interlock with capital means that, officially or unofficially, the donor's private sector investments tend to be implicated in the gift (even when the gift appears to be initiated by an individual). As a result, the benefits, prestige, position and social capital afforded by the gift are shared amongst the individual donor and his or her close associations, whether the 'spill over' effect (for industry, in this case) is intended or not. Therefore, it becomes very challenging to think about the interests of donor, without considering the donor's wider capital interests- even though, again, they may not be a donor's primary motivations.

York University and Research in Motion

U of T is not alone in their struggles with issues with funding and academic integrity. In April of 2012, York officially rejected former Research in Motion executive, Jim Balsillie's, \$30 million proposal to work with his Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) in the creation of a joint international law program between Osgoode Hall and the Waterloo's CIGI campus. The funds were to be matched by the province for a total of \$60 million dollars in funding. The break down in the partnership came from Osgoode law professor's refusal to participate in the program (the vote was 34 to 7) and although York did not necessarily need Osgoode's permission to move forward, in practice it made little sense to move forward without Osgoode's participation (Brown, 2012 April 02). Although administration claimed to have identified several ways of preserving academic freedom and limiting the influence of CIGI in the production of knowledge and hiring practices, faculty felt uncomfortable around guarantees in relation to academic integrity. The Canadian Association of University Teachers has also communicated warnings to both the University of Waterloo and Wilfrid Laurier University to either create some distance from the CIGI think tank or face a potential boycott of the universities around threats to academic freedom and integrity.

Balsillie responded in the *Globe and Mail* on April 11, 2012 with a piece entitled, 'Academic Freedom at York University? More Like Academic Myopia'. He attributes Osgoode's refusal to "old-think, coupled with an unrealistic sense of entitlement to public moneys [being] preferred to innovation and opportunity" (Balsillie, 2012, April 11).

Balsillie goes on to say, "Our interest was that York/CIGI become a global centre of excellence in international laws of trade and finance, intellectual property and the environment. For accountability, we needed an understanding that the research would be in those domains. That was the sole condition. As a donor, I think that was a fair expectation". In conclusion he adds, "If Osgoode Hall's faculty council is determined to look backward, that's its prerogative, and York's loss. As for me, I believe Canada needs to develop world-class strength in these fields and to put Canadian institutions at the heart of global research networks. I will continue to invest my philanthropy with those who share that vision". His words communicate a sense of entitlement, expectation and strategy around philanthropy even though he claims to 'get' academic freedom. He privileges private capital in the public domain and faults public institutions for feeling entitled to public funds.

Conclusions

Just as Galtung (1999) has noted the media facilitates relationships between the three spheres (civil society, the state and capital), the development good has the ability to create a flow of communication that coordinates the spheres in the interests of capital. Most importantly though, through notions of philanthropy and the development good, capital is legitimized as more than a stakeholder- as a driver in the field of development, given a new voice within the systems and structures of state and civil society.

Similar to the colonial powers and the state promising notions of 'development' to colonies around the world to legitimize inserting themselves into the economies of foreign nations, capital too uses notions of development and assistance to intervene in the

functioning of the state at home and abroad. In both frameworks, the 'gift' is used, in part, as an excuse to expand and adjust the boundaries of state and capital. This creates a hegemonic power relation between capital and the state, putting the state in capital's debt. This, again, speaks to Galtung's warning of the importance of balance between the three pillars. Galtung suggested that in theory, the media exists to make visible the inter-workings of the spheres to each other and ensure transparency. A common sense approach, however, might be more cynical toward the relationship between capital and media given the former's increased corporatization. That same cynical approach might also argue that philanthropy serves to obfuscate the relations between the three and especially the inner workings of philanthropy and broad interests of capital. Just as Galtung identified blocked or concealed communications as a mode of corruption, concealed philanthropy or philanthropy with concealed interests would also suggest a form of corruption.

Looking back at Barrick Gold and Peter Munk for a moment, there is a mutually reinforcing process through which capital is rewarded from both civil society and the state for its philanthropic engagement, making the material interest significant. Again, acknowledging the plurality of the gift (in terms of motivation), the philanthropic gift may not be designed with the single purpose of advancing capital. Their private-sector associations (brand/brands) do, however, tend to benefit when captains of industry (or those with the power and position to give) make philanthropic gifts of such scale. The argument being that it is in those 'unofficial' spaces or margins that the social capital tied to the gift is enacted, rewarded and the narrative of the gift is produced.

Philanthropic contributions to U of T, for example, have the power to re-frame personal and corporate images. Not only do they provide symbolic and social capital but they provide greater access. Once framed as 'philanthropic', the corporation gains more material reward as civil society and the state welcome the private sector (Barrick Gold, IAMGOLD, Rio Tinto) into partnerships that, at the very least, mitigate resistance to their presence and operations but also grant a degree of social control. Once again, the perception of gift creates notions of 'indebtedness' to the corporation (for its apparent investment in women, children, the disabled and broader community capacity building) from the local population and state as well as CIDA, NGO partners and diverse stakeholders. The CIDA partnership (although Munk's most recent contribution to U of T may have been in negotiation prior to its announcement) grants Peter Munk and Barrick Gold, by association, increased legitimacy in the field of global affairs- especially in relation to civil society and humanitarian response. This belief in increased legitimacy attempts to decrease friction toward the most recent support for the Munk School and also enables the Munk family to negotiate controls and conditions that could (should they choose to although there is no evidence to this effect) influence the institution's works and the academic freedom and integrity of its mandate.

The philanthropic gift, in the case of Peter Munk, is perceived to have: secured his position in Peru (as well as other foreign locations); given Barrick Gold a competitive edge as the company appears to invest in local communities; re-positioned his firm in the global order; begun to erase the violent reputation of Barrick Gold; reframed his corporation as 'caring'; decreased (or silenced) global resistance to his brand; furthered

the influence of a right-wing think tank by embedding it in the Munk School; coordinated \$50 million in tax payer support for the Munk school and \$1 million from CIDA to ensure they meet his own program and policy agendas; and finally, been positioned in a power dynamic that could provide increased control over the production of knowledge within the Munk School (but this could arguably bleed into faculties and others institutions at U of T). The term 'perceived' was selected in this paragraph's opening sentence because we never really fully understand the motivations and impact of the gifts we exchange. Munk could, potentially, have an honest desire to support post secondary education and understandings of global affairs. Through his philanthropic gift, however, Munk has embedded himself in relationships and intersecting processes of advantage, mobilized the state and civil society around his own agenda and in doing so created a personal legacy framing himself as 'philanthropic', 'generous' and 'caring' all for the price of approximately \$27 million (\$ 6.4 million for the first donation to U of T, \$19 million for the second, \$1million from CIDA, \$500,000 donation to Peruvian pilot project). Obviously, \$27 million is a lot of money but given the context, that Barrick Gold earned \$3.2 billion in gross profit in 2010, it would seem that the \$27 million was money well spent and that the return on investment will be tremendous.

This is the complexity and paradox of the gift- its returns can be so advantageous and alluring to the donor that it becomes very challenging to untangle forces of altruism from those of interest and see the philanthropic gift, in particular (due to its interlock with capital), as having distance from larger private sector interests. Regardless, however, of the intentions or the motivations behind any such exchange, the gift invokes very

particular power dynamics (Mauss, 1991; Derrida, 1992; Weiner, 1992; Escobar, 1995; Schrift, 1997; Godelier, 1999; Kapoor, 2007). This power, whether the 'donor' likes it or not, is accompanied by formal and informal material, symbolic and cultural advantages that cannot easily be displaced. It is difficult to differentiate between the heavily interested gift and the gift that comes from spaces weighted more in generosity. The irony of the gift is that contrary to the rhetoric of the gift, it is not actually 'the thought that counts' because the gift is an act of interpretation (Yan, 1996). We can never fully understand 'the thought' behind another's gift or even the gifts we, ourselves, give. Therefore, exploring 'the thought' or the motivations behind the gift actually provides little understanding of the gift compared to examining the cultural, material and symbolic impact of the gift. In short, the thoughts (motivation is most plural) behind the gift have very little consequence on how the gift is experienced and perceived.

Chapter Eight

The ‘Other Story’ of the Gift: Toward a Theory of Gift and Capital through the Development Good

This work does appear very critical of corporate philanthropy in the field of development, the development good and the gift in general. I want to be clear that there are often good intentions embedded in notions of the gift and there are many gifts that are not exchanged from a place of strategy but out of honest generosity. Zizek has stated, “I’m not against charity. In an abstract sense it’s better than nothing but let’s be aware that there is an element of hypocrisy” (2009, 9:56). The purpose of this research was not to problematize any and all gifts but to tease out the contradictions that exist between the ideas of philanthropy, the values of the gift and the celebration of the gift- particularly against the material interests of capital and the economic benefits made possible by the gift. My intention, then, has been to create a space for working through some of those conflicts and contradictions that are embedded in models of corporate gifting, particularly the development good and ‘one for one’ frameworks. By casting a spotlight on some of those problematic processes and relationships, practices of the gift can, ideally, be improved.

There are three key areas to revisit in the conclusion of this study of the gift. First, I would like consider the ‘big story’ of the development good- the commodity, the corporation and capital’s strategic interest in the gift and, particularly, the development good. Here, there are two distinct levels at which the development good provides value to the private sector. The model enhances brand, provides competitive advantage and unlocks the communicative capacity of the corporate social responsibility. As a result, the

private sector 'gift', then, provides a space through which relationships between the state, civil society and capital are renegotiated and capital is re-positioned within the field of international development (in the case of the development good). By rearticulating the relationship between the private sector and populations and places considered 'developing' and recasting the role of the corporation as 'caring' (through the gift) there is a potential for feelings of indebtedness to the private sector to develop as it takes on roles and responsibilities traditionally reserved for the state and civil society. These dynamics have the potential to provide symbolic and material advantage for broad private sector interests.

The second or 'other' story of the development good intentionally complicates the previous one. It is easy to look at corporate campaigns as simply manipulating notions of gift for the benefit of capital but I will argue that this ignores the strength, resilience and agency of the gift. After exploring the ways in which capital's use the gift benefits the private sector I will then move on to consider how the gift and the impulse to give, in turn, strategically engages with and finds meaning through its relationship with capital.

Third, I argue that the value corporations, commodities, capital and, importantly, the individual recognizes in the development good model relies in two powerful development good narratives or myths. My interest, therefore, also lies in disrupting or challenging those key narratives: 1) that commodities and capital can stand in for global responsibility and humanitarian action; and, 2) that corporate philanthropy can stand in for or replace corporate social responsibility. In problematizing these narratives we begin to de-mythologize the gift within the development good, making the wider interests of the

private sector visible to consumers who have traditionally recognized it as an authentic model of gift- making visible the paradox of the gift.

Having spoken to the key areas of research that I feel are most significant in this work, I will then further reflect on the relationships between the individual participants and the structural element of the development good. In closing, I will share the value I see in a very simple (in theory) and common-sense 'Do No Harm' approach to development fundraising and practice.

TOMS as Gift

During Christmas of 2011, my partner Brian gave me a pair of sequined TOMS shoes. He has often waited patiently while I looked at the TOMS displays, inspected the shoes and silently debated purchasing a pair for further reflection. In the end, I had decided against purchasing TOMS because I felt so conflicted about buying them for myself. Brian, however, decided that it might be interesting to give them to me as a gift and surprised me with them over the holidays. I remained conflicted. I quite liked the shoes and it was also important that Brian know how much I appreciated his gift. The deeper meaning of the model troubled me as I thought about wearing them in public. Their communicative capacity, the ability of the shoes to share with the world a message of support and endorsement for this 'one for one' model made me shy away from wearing the shoes.

A very interesting thing happened after I received my TOMS. As time went on the narrative of the shoes continued to change. TOMS no longer represented just the 'one for one' model. They became more about the gift between Brian and I and the politics of

the shoes were, in part, replaced with the sentiment of the gift selected by Brian. I open the conclusion of this study with the story of my TOMS experience because it speaks to the communicative, interpretive and transformative role of the gift. TOMS were sourced, produced and distributed within a model that seems to, in part, exploit vulnerable populations and use the cultural power of the gift to create a competitive advantage. The narrative of the gift was transformed and re-interpreted when TOMS were given to me because the gift's embeddedness in human relations re-articulated the value and significance of the shoes. as they had somehow been built into the story of myself and Brian.

Re-visiting the literature on the gift, Carrier's (1995) argument that gifts must be explored not as "mass structures of meaning and identity" (p.10) but rather be considered as critical in the experience and structuring of human relationships took on new meaning. Theoretically, I had understood the function of the gift in social relations and the transformative potential of the gift but my experience with TOMS served as a rich illustration of those ideas. Just as Emerson wrote that a man's biography exists in the gift he gives (Ferguson & Ferguson, 1987) and Weiner (1992) suggested that the identity of the giver is forever etched onto the gift, the shoes became a symbolic representation or extension of Brian.

The 'One for One' narrative was suddenly of less consequence (although it still existed). I'm not saying the model seemed any less problematic but that the shoes came to be much bigger when constructed as a gift within the context of a personal relationship. The 'corporate get' narrative was dwarfed and in its place was a more personal story of

the gift. The process of gifting clearly reframes the good, and this served as the basis for this examination of the development good. What this means is that when the development good (already re-articulated as 'gift to other') is purchased and given as a gift, as in the case of my TOMS, the gift is once again transformed. This speaks to the fluidity of the gift but also to the protective cushioning gift status provides. Just as the development good model, in itself, transforms the commodity into a gift, the gifting of 'gift' layers in additional meaning that is rooted in personal relationships. The gift, in this case, is further removed from its commodity status and the politics that accompany that position.

Capital's use of the Gift and the Gift's use of Capital

It would be simple to consider the gift as entirely exploited by capital through the development good. Tempting as that might be, such a proposition ignores the agency and power that exists within the gift. I argue that there are actually intersecting cultural and economic conditions or processes in place that account for the success of the development good beyond the spin of capital. To do this I will first, briefly, re-visit how capital uses the gift to secure material and symbolic advantage. There is a second argument, however, that has not really been pulled out in this discussion. I will further suggest that the gift also strategically and intentionally engages with capital. This may not be as dramatic or sensational a narrative as corporate manipulation but it seeks to capture the resilience and cultural power of the gift in a way that needs to be reflected in a discussion of gift and capital.

The Corporation, Commodity and Capital's Use of the Gift- The 'Big Picture' of the Development Good

From the above narrative of TOMS it is easy to see the sentiment, emotion and cultural power of the gift. The gift has the potential to be transformative (Fenne 2002; Yan, 1996), open to interpretation (Yan, 1996), communicative (Mauss, 1990; Derrida, 1992; Komter, 2005; Cheal, 1988) and key to the construction of identity (Mauss, 1990; Derrida, 1992; Cheal, 1988; Schrift, 1997). The gift's communicative capacity is powerful enough to create new narratives around the exchange of goods and services that critically impact how we understand our world.

The state has long capitalized on the power of the gift to coordinate and control, both material and symbolic interests abroad (Kapoor, 2008; Heron, 2007; Alhassan, 2009; Jefferess, 2002; Escobar, 1995, 1999; Hayter, 1971). Chapter two explored a genealogy of overlapping Western interventions (missionary service, colonial relationships and the current international development paradigm) that demonstrated a sustained and ongoing use of the gift and notions of 'philanthropy' as a medium through which the strategic interests of the state were met. The gift has also been strategically used by the private sector for some time under the banner of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) (Bannerjee, 2007; Podnar & Golob, 2007; McLeod, 2006; Heal, 2005). Just as in the case of the state, the transformative power of the gift to create a narrative of care and conceal a host of interests has been key to creating brand image and positive corporate profiles. The following will briefly re-visit two examples of the role of the development good and/or the gift in advancing the interests of capital.

The Development Good and the Communication Dilemma

Morsing's (2003) description of the communication dilemma in chapter five sets up what I argue to be one of the key values of the development good. He describes corporations as being locked into a dynamic in which they benefit greatly from communicating their 'do goodedness', but that those communications run the risk of alienating populations. The development good's reliance on the generation of profit necessitates advertising, making consumers more accepting of corporate messaging due to that perceived link between advertising and the ability to provide 'care'. I argue that by tying the gift to the movement of goods the communication capacity of the gift, which was already extensive, continues to expand. In the words of TOMS founder, Blake Mycoskie, "giving might be the best investment you ever make" (2011, p. 20).

Not only does the development good appear to solve Morsing's (2003) communication dilemma and break open the gift's communicative capacity but it exists in a communicative culture often controlled by the donor where the celebration of gift is privileged over the experience of the gift. Mauss (1990) remarked on the attention paid to the event or the moment of the gift. It is probably the most sentimental and emotionally engaged phase of gift and for this reason the communication around the gift seems to sometimes be trapped in a 'honeymoon' stage with the gift. The narrative of the gift rarely extends to how the gift is utilized, its true impact and long-term value (or lack thereof).

CIDA Pilot Projects and the Production of Post-Secondary Knowledge

The development good model, pilot projects and philanthropy to post-secondary institutions are not unrelated. In fact, when I think about the relationship between the

development good and the pilot projects, relations between the missions and colonialism come to mind. Just as the missionaries were criticized for (knowingly or unknowingly) clearing a path for the colonists (Thorne, 1999; Ballard, 2008), the development good also creates a landscape where the interests of capital in the field of development face less resistance. The communicative capacity of the gift is so great that it becomes a transformative space for capital, re-positioning the corporation and commodity as respondents to issues of humanitarianism. As a result, the private sector is framed as a development stakeholder and indirect service provider, which previously would have fallen exclusively to the state and civil society.

The borrowing of Galtung's (1999) tripartite model of civil society, state and capital, situates philanthropy as a medium renegotiating the relationships between the three sectors makes good sense in this context. Philanthropy and gift have been used to blur the boundaries of capital, state and civil society. As capital takes on some of the roles and responsibilities of the state in response to development issues and 'strategic relationships' develop (as described by Galtung) a culture of indebtedness could easily follow making the state more vulnerable to the demands of capital.

It is vital that the new CIDA pilot projects be considered with that potential in mind. The extractive sector, as discussed in the previous chapter, has a reputation for exploitative business practices and extreme environmental degradation. Threatened with the regulation of industry and operational standards (McQuaig & Brooks, 2010; Munk out of U of T, 2011) the mining sector appears to have responded by situating itself in a more ethical and flattering light. By creating an opportunity for Canadian mining firms to

partner with leading NGOs as well as CIDA, the mining industry implicates itself in what is perceived as a social good. The gift of support or philanthropy directed toward the project and from the mining firm is meant to suggest social responsibility and the partnership legitimizes that re-positioning. The partnership and ethical positioning might seem symbolic but there are very real material benefits in play (avoiding costly regulation, improved on the ground infrastructure, labour ready populations, less consumer resistance). Add to this the potential for those mining companies (such as Barrick Gold) to have any form of control over the production of knowledge in post-secondary institutions, as discussed in the last chapter, and these pilot projects become even more problematic.

The Gift's Use of Capital- The 'Other' Story of the Development Good

To give is a very natural impulse. In 2004 after the Indian Ocean earthquake and tsunami, my young friends, twin brother and sister, Brent and Emma decided there was something they could do to help. They were just four and a half years old and drew several pictures that they then sold to family and friends to raise funds for relief. They donated the money they made to an international NGO leading the humanitarian responses. They had not been coaxed by the adults in their life but the media reporting and general discussion around them was enough to make children, as young as they were, aware that they had a gift to give.

As I studied the gift, I became very aware of its strength, agency and its resilience. It was easy to see why the private sector was so invested in practices of the gift as it brokered new relationships, re-wrote the status (and history) of the gift, the donor and

recipients, and transformed the interpretation of capital in particular contexts. As I considered the gift's awesome power in connection with capital's manipulation of that force, I began to question this relationship. I was attributing very little agency to the gift, which seemed to contradict how I understood its vast capabilities in social transformation.

The gift has been and continues to be fundamental to the health and wellbeing of people around the world. In *The Wealth of Nations* (2009), Adam Smith noted that human beings seem to have a psychological propensity for bartering and exchange. Komter (2005) states that the gift serves very basic and fundamental psychological functions: to create moral ties between people; disclosure, affirmation or denial of identities as the gift reveals one's understanding of the recipient and reflects one's personal taste; and, recognition or respect for other. Cheal (1996) describes the purpose of the gift as being: a stabilizing force for members of a community; built into cultural celebrations; able to communicate how one feels about other inner states, values and opinions; and, a way of communicating identity. Finally, Sykes (2005) uses Bourdieu's notion of 'habitus' to argue that some behaviours and practices are so embedded in one's culture and history that it becomes difficult to fully grasp or account for their meaning. The functions of the gift are broad, overlapping and sometimes contradictory but there is no denying that gifting is one of the most consistent and widespread social practices in existence. This led me to question why I was so quick to assume that it was easily manipulated by capital.

The first chapter of this research established the gift as not only being active throughout time and space but also as serving an incredibly broad range of functions. When we think about how a donor is impacted by a gift, sometimes we are quick to think

of superficial positioning, status and rank. This ignores the fundamental value of the gift in social organization.

Here I would like to suggest that the development good and other similar models are not simply the result of capital and corporate appropriations of the gift. This is not a purely one-sided relationship in which capital has exclusively colonized the gift for its own purposes. It is easy to blame the success of models such as Product (RED), TOMS, the Canada Collection and FEED on 'slacktivism' and a generation of disengaged youth who are unwilling to give of time and resources in what might be considered a more meaningful way. I would, however, ask that one stop and also consider the changing landscape of the gift. While the social function of the gift and the cultural impulse to give remain significant, the opportunities and outlets for gift have become increasingly problematic for many, making the development good an attractive alternative.

Secularization of the Gift

The first chapter of this research outlines the value of the gift in several world religions (Vandeveldt, 2000; Heim, 2004; Payton & Moody, 2008; Hinnant, 2002; Zemon Davis, 2000). Ben-Amos (2008) argues that charity and the gift remain, for many, very rooted in religion, but Godelier (1999) recognizes that the increased secularization of many communities has changed the landscape of the gift. In fact, Briggs (2011, April, 4) has written that in the years between 1990 and 2008 the number of people in the US declaring no religious affiliation has almost doubled (8% to 15%) and the number of people claiming to have never attended a religious service went up by 9%. These numbers might not seem huge but they come after decades of decline, and represent a sample of

people with a complete religious disconnect, not the percentage of the population that have some looser religious affiliation or would describe themselves as 'not practicing'. In Canada, 21% of respondents over the age of 15 claimed to attend a religious service once a week and in 1985 that number was 30%. Additionally, 33% of Canadians stated that they had not attended a religious service in the previous year compared to 22% in 1985 (Lindsay, 2011).

This increased secularization in North American culture, compounded by a new media climate, creates competing narratives on what constitutes a meaningful life. Raymond Williams (1980) wrote of advertising's transformational powers as having a magic-like quality in that traditional sources of meaning and satisfaction were obscured by the promise of the commodity. Sut Jhally (1987) similarly argued that advertising has replaced many traditional institutions (religion, community, family) in the creation of meaning and understanding of the world. Clearly, the media can be argued to be, at least in part, replacing traditional and religious codes in terms of behavior and beliefs.

This is where we begin to see the changing landscape of the gift. Historically, the gift was central to religious codes of morality. Religion provided a direct opportunity to give (most religious institutions accept donations) as well as supporting a general culture of giving and guiding that gifting. This is not to say that people who are not engaged in formal religious activity don't give- they absolutely do. I am saying, however, that the increased secularization of society simply changed the culture of giving. The decline in religiosity narrowed the opportunities and outlets for gifting in North American culture.

At the same time, there are bells going off around the idea of ‘the sacred’ in Weiner (1992) and the idea of building the sacred into commodities through the gift. That something relatively lost in North American culture was resurfacing in a strange and exploitative way but also in a way that is resonating with people. Weiner describes the sacred as the goods that are passed down to tell the stories of the ancestors and provide direction for the future (reflecting religion, spirituality and family culture). The development good is not a family heirloom and it doesn’t necessarily tell the stories of one’s ancestors but like the sacred items, it represents something bigger and more meaningful. It is a way for individuals to connect with that which is the most sacred, the giving of life (in the case of RED, for example, the commodities provide life saving medical treatment).

Critiques of Development and Social Responsibility as Gift Outlets

In recent years the narratives around the post -WWII development project have changed and, as discussed in chapter three, the field of post-development emerged problematizing the notion of linear development benchmarks, cultural biases in understandings of development and the framing of populations from the Global South (Escobar, 1995, 1999; Hayter, 1971; Kapoor, 2008; Alhassan, 2009). Along with the emergence of this academic critique came a change in the politics and scale of response to development. The combination of industry explosion (Rennie, 2011; Cooley & Ron, 2002), competition for donors (Jefferess, 2002) as well as increased awareness around the tying and material interests associated with aid, which Kapoor refers to as ‘grift over gift’ left the public feeling disillusioned and skeptical.

These feelings are mirrored in the private sector's construction of traditional CSR. Gilmore and Pine (2008) explicitly link the suspicions around NGOs extending into corporate campaigns. They state that both, NGOs and corporate campaigns are plagued by concerns around financial inefficiency and leadership scandals. As brought into the discussion in chapter three, even recipients of corporate campaigns (Christian Aid in the UK) have come out aggressively against their funding partners (Blowfield, 2004). Consumers are very cautious, if not apprehensive, when it comes to corporate social responsibility (Matten & Moon, 2008; Marsden, 2006) and the corporate gift, which is in a sense an extension of their own purchasing power.

Taken together with the increased secularization of the gift, ambivalence toward the culture of NGOs and discomfort with traditional models of CSR, the gift has far fewer outlets than it did for generations of the past. Additionally, outside of these formal gift avenues, past generations engaged in more informal gifting processes to ensure that populations were fed, healthy and with shelter (Mauss, 1990). Although the gift serves several key functions for individuals, communities and cultures, there has clearly been a dramatic decline in opportunities and outlets for gifting.

Desire to Give and the Lure of the Development Good's 'Authenticity'

The initial response to Kony 2012 was truly overwhelming, as one of the most watched YouTube videos to date, it inspired over 3,500,000 people to take its pledge to stop Joseph Kony (Kanczula, 2012, April 20). TOMS has distributed its shoes to millions of youth around the world (TOMS, n.d.) and Product (RED) has raised over \$200 million (Join Red, 2012). I believe there continues to be a very strong desire to give and function

served by the gift but potential and traditional outlets have become problematic for many individuals. As a result people feel alienated, disengaged, disconnected and the amount of work required to 'research' giving outlets is overwhelming (Barry-Shaw & Oja Ray, 2012). People appear to be struggling, caught in a tension between not knowing how or where to give and feeling compelled to just 'do something' in the face of crisis, as evidenced from the Kony 2012 campaign (Cole, 2012, March 21). It therefore makes sense to me that these campaigns (Kony 2012, Product RED, TOMS) are supported from a place of desperation. It is much more complicated than simply writing these acts off as disengagement or 'slacktivism'. The popularity of the development good isn't derived simply from its ease but from its very existence. The development good is an accessible outlet for individuals and one that is recognized as 'authentic'.

The previous discussion does situate the consumer as being suspicious of private sector gift practices and NGO gifting structures (Gilmore & Pine, 2008; Blowfield, 2004) but Gilmore and Pine make an interesting exception. In their text, *Authenticity*, they describe the quest for authentic experiences (as described in chapter three) and put forward authenticity as being a key consumer sensibility. They write that if you can involve the consumer in the building of a model or in anyway bestow ownership on a consumer, she or he will understand the model of 'real' and 'authentic'. With perceptions of authenticity comes an elevated position within the market and widespread consumer appeal. The tying of gift to the sale of a commodity, as has been discussed, implicates the consumer in a model and creates notions of agency and ownership. Consumers have a relatively clear understanding of both investment and impact (I buy a t-shirt, someone

gets pills or I buy shoes and someone else gets shoes) as compared to general NGO operations and thereby individuals feel like their personal actions initiate a direct chain of response with a clear outcome. The cultural impulse to give combined with the development good being interpreted by many as a legitimate or credible gifting outlet makes the model very powerful in terms of consumer support.

The Development Good as a (Relatively) Symbiotic Space for Gift and Capital

The gift-commodity relationship is interesting in that the gift is often viewed as an elevated status of good. In fact, Osteen (2002) goes so far as to position the commodity as existing in a state of having ‘fallen from grace’ against the idealized nature of the gift. In discussing the development good, capital is easily positioned in a parasitic relationship with the gift or one of domination. The narrative seems to be that capital is co-opting and corrupting the gift for its own interests. For me, this lacks complexity and should be disrupted. The transformative power of the gift, its place throughout time and space, as well as its resilience has been well documented (Mauss, 1990; Derrida, 1992; Carrier, 1995; Schrift, 1997; Godelier, 1999; Zemon Davis, 2000; Godbout, 2004). To then assume that the gift is entirely powerless and simply undermined in relationships with capital is shortsighted. The gift (particularly the gift to ‘others’ positioned as vulnerable) pre-dates capitalism and is a practice that survived through missionaries, colonizers, development practitioners and now capital. The gift continually re-invents itself to meet the social, economic and political climate (Zemon Davis, 2000). The cultural impulses to give and the functions served by gift are too great to be lost.

Clearly, capital benefits greatly from partnering with notions of the gift. This needs to be at the forefront of development scholarship as the implications have the potential to be quite grave. I am not trying to distract from the exploitative ways in which the gift is utilized by capital, that is obviously the 'big story' of the development good. I also, however, want to note that this is not the only story of the development good. Within this model there is a practice of gift that is recognized by individuals as 'authentic'. Therefore, within capital (specifically the development good) the gift has found a critical outlet. Faced with decline of opportunities and outlets for the impulse to give and the functions served by the gift, the development good becomes a space strategically used by gift.

The strategic relationship between gift and capital does not make the political implications of the development good any less problematic and I am not arguing that both parties of this partnership benefit equally or that there is ever a way to fully account for who benefits and by how much. What I do want to make clear is that the development good does not represent a cultural decline in gifting, quite the opposite. First, the success of the development good represents a continued desire to give but an absence of gifting opportunities and outlets perceived as acceptable by the public (particularly youth).

Second, capital's desire to partner with the gift speaks to its enduring cultural currency and transformative powers. The gift remains so alluring to capital because it provides access, indebtedness and control (CIDA mining pilot projects and philanthropy) in a way that capital alone can no longer achieve. Third, by using the development good as a sign or testament to both an ongoing desire to give and a lack of 'acceptable' outlets,

a critical space for intervention is identified. In terms of program design and fundraising potential, the disconnect between desire, opportunity and outlet is very valuable. Looking back at Kony 2012, perhaps a reflection of alienation and disengagement that is not necessarily by choice, it appears to make a case for a strong desire for change in the digital age that doesn't necessarily translate into direct engagement. That space between desire and intention against direct action and service is an interesting place for thinking through the development good model.

It could still be argued that the development good, for example, is simply a case of the private sector tapping into a culture of alienation in a very superficial way but I feel there is something more at work. This position ignores the complexity of the gift. Increasingly, when the gift is used in a superficial way (as discussed above) it is recognized as such by the public. More importantly, the agency of the gift (and giver) should not be overlooked. The gift being recognized as gift (an authentic practice of gift) is what gives it its power to fulfill the function of the gift and the impulse to give. Part of the logic that allows the gift to be perceived as authentic comes from the lack of traditional gifting outlets and changing landscape of the gift. By creating a model, recognized as authentic, against the many that are seen as inauthentic, this speaks to the integrity and agency of the gift. It only materializes when it is recognized (Derrida, 1992) so its own power prevents it from being a pure manipulation of capital.

To conclude this portion of the discussion I want to tease out that I am not suggesting that because the development good is recognized as an authentic gifting experience that it is at all just. The gift has long been used to exploit, invoke power

dynamics, secure material interests and reap symbolic rewards (Escobar, 1995, 1999, Alhassan, 2009; Kapoor, 2008). The mythologizing (Barthes, 1973) of gift and its misrecognition as disinterested (Bourdieu, 1977) continue to pose a threat to improving practice in the field of development. My intention is to position the gift and the desire to give from a place of power (within the development good model) that is taken up by individuals as well as the forces of private capital.

Problematic Narratives of the Development Good

The mythologizing of the gift and the disconnect between the celebration of the gift and the full meaning of the gift are what allows the gift to conceal its own strategic interests- making the paradox of the gift less visible. This is what makes the development good gift so appealing to the private sector, in particular. The communicative capacity of the gift and development good model circulates strategic narratives that protect and expand the interests of corporate organizations. It is critical that the narratives provided below be challenged as they not only perpetuate the myth of the gift (particularly in relation to capital and development) but they are also key in positioning the development good as an 'authentic' experience of gift and concealing the interests of capital in the field of development. This disruption is intended to make the paradox of the gift (its dual position of altruism and interest) visible and create critical dialogue around notions and celebrations of gift.

Narrative #1: Commodities and Capital can stand in for Global Responsibility and Humanitarian Action

First and foremost, on a theoretical level, the development good cannot simply stand in for global responsibility and humanitarian action because the logics from which the development good and civil society emerge are fundamentally different (Galtung, 1999). As noted in chapter five, the three sectors (civil society, the state and capital) are constructed through and operate on entirely different logics although they have a stake in each other's operations. Although the model does express some of the sentiment of social responsibility, it cannot be forgotten that TOMS, Product (RED) and the Canada Collection are all profit seeking ventures.

The development good or 'one for one' model blurs the interests of all three sectors. When this blurring occurs, the contradictions in the model become less visible but they include: the capitalistic model from which the commodities are created is the architect of the great imbalance in global distributions of resources and wealth; the responsibility for the crisis to which the development good can very much be attributed to global capitalism: vulnerabilities for which no 'sexy' business cases exist will be lost within a system that is dependent of private consumer capital; championing excessive consumption as a means to social justice is far from environmentally sound; the politics of equating consumer goods with human lives (as in the case of Product RED) is offensive; traditional forms of response and support for grassroots projects (which direct more support to movements) could be impacted creating a situation where less support is reaching those who are most in need; celebrities are framing some of the worlds most pressing issues and erasing the voices of professionals, affected populations and

politicians; and, engagement in the development good could be confused for general social responsibility.

At this point very little is known about the potential for these new consumer options to impact the behavior of citizens or the culture of humanitarian response. Will civil society practices, volunteerism, activism and advocacy be impacted by these more embedded modes of gift? There is a very real possibility that current citizenship practices could be jeopardized or replaced by these popular opportunities that appear as an authentic outlet to give. The reality is that the development good does not demand that consumers make any radical changes to their current lifestyles. The products do not create any real room for advocacy or activism. The development good is simply a very small band aid that not only ignores the roots of inequality but one might argue that it protects them as well.

Additionally, this model is implicated in easing the path of capital in the field of international development by rearticulating the corporation as a 'caring' development stakeholder. When one considers the potential for exploitation of labour, culture, resources and environment the very suggestion of positioning capital as a development actor becomes offensive. Ultimately, the development good does not make any progress in creating the kind of radical change required for a more just and equitable world. It preserves existing power structures and silences resistance (Richey & Ponte, 2011) by appearing responsive to the needs of the world's most vulnerable.

Narrative #2: The Development Good is Social Responsibility

The questions that kept surfacing for me, personally, when I began this work: If I have to buy shoes anyway, why not by TOMS? (Then someone else is getting shoes as well). How does buying a one-for-one model from a global corporation compare to buying a typical product from a very socially responsible company? It is very difficult to negotiate the many claims around consumption for a 'greater good'. One of my key concerns with the development good, is that the heightened buzz around the 'one for one' model has the potential to stand in or act as a proxy for corporate social responsibility. The model, elevated and celebrated in the marketplace, throws a shadow over internal business practices as the gifting model so powerfully brands the product as socially responsible, caring, ethical and just. It shifts the dialogue away from standard operating procedures to external actions and consumers need to be aware of that deflection.

Anecdotally, when one is surfing through the development good websites, one soon sees that for the most part, these models do not necessarily employ ethical standards or sourcing along their extensive supply chains, in their manufacturing warehouses or in their distribution processes. Some companies may be better than others but the 'one for one' model is certainly not a guarantee of general social responsibility. For example Motorola (Product RED partner) uses mined coltan, very controversial due to its links to the conflict in Eastern Congo and the environmental destruction associated with its extraction (Richey and Ponte, 2008). There is nothing inherently environmentally sound about the development good, in fact championing excessive consumption as the key to social justice is not at all sustainable. We, the consumers, know very little about the labour practices and materials used in production. Bono has actually been quoted as

saying “We are for labour issues. Labour issues are very serious but six and a half thousand Africans dying is more serious” (Richey and Ponte, 2011, p. 187). This suggests a knowledge that in privileging response above all else, there are some less visible (although very serious) forms of exploitation that emerge.

The above example is just a small demonstration of the difference between the development good and social responsibility. The two should really be considered separately but the media buzz and celebrity associated with the development good are so powerful that it effectively frames the corporation as ethical. The gift must be untangled from the broad category of social responsibility. This is not to say that official CSR policies cannot include philanthropic activity but that multiple corporate activities should be weighed (difficult as it may be) by the consumer in determining the social responsibility of the private sector. Consumers must be sensitive to corporate philanthropy programs that appear to be standing in for social responsibility- exploiting the emotion and event of the gift (Mauss, 1990) to distract from or conceal general business operations.

Better Practices in Corporate Social Responsibility and Philanthropy: The Financial Times

The interplay between philanthropy and capital is clear but instead of concealing the interests of capital (as in the case of the development good), transparency in philanthropy is critical. By integrating the values and practices of social responsibility into current business operations while remaining philanthropic seems to be the more elevated model of giving and social change. Models that support long-term

transformation in industry standards and global business practice (extraction, production, consumption to disposal) would seem to support a greater good than one that creates a highly emotional band aid at one particular point (consumption). For this reason looking at the Financial Times as a promising example of social responsibility and philanthropy is useful.

This year, the Financial Times (FT) announced that the Global Fund for Children (GFC) would be the recipient of its holiday appeal (Barber, 2012). FT has raised close to \$20 million for seasonal appeals since 2005 and since 1997 invested \$27 million in over 500 community-based organizations spread over 78 countries. FT is being highlighted for several reasons but first there is an interesting level of transparency and employee investment in its philanthropic practices (Barber, 2012). Employees around the world vote on the recipient of the seasonal appeal (less opportunity for corporate strategizing with philanthropic resources). Then, instead of electing to give a lump sum to the organization selected by employees, staff of FT engages in several philanthropic activities in order to raise funds. Editor, Lionel Barber, describes raising awareness, photography auctions, matching funds, lunches, the auctioning off of FT writers and 'Sommelier in Your Cellar' services donated from leading wine experts. This imports the values and benefits of philanthropy directly into the workplace. FT also uses its position and platform to raise awareness, advocate for change and create a space for publicly debating the global issues and pressures impacting children.

In terms of its standing CSR policies, FT has integrated many of the ideals of social responsibility into their daily operations- environmental impact evaluations,

rainforest protections, papers and printing selected based on sustainability plans, recycling and waste policies, using FT and its resources to create a space for debating environmental concerns, upholding high standards in labour practices and human rights, pushing industry in innovation to attract and engage employees and supporting local communities. Here the gift is one of several active social responsibility initiatives and is not meant to stand in for a commitment to more ethical operating standards. Yes, FT benefits from its seasonal campaign (as well as awareness around its CSR policies) there is no question as that is the nature of the gift (Paton & Moody, 2008), however, in identifying better practices of gifting the challenge is to structure a more balanced distribution of benefits.

Samantha King concludes her book, *Pink Ribbons Inc* (2006) by saying that, “ It seems particularly crucial, then, at this point in history, to find ways to make visible the relations of inequality, obligation and exploitation that structure well-intentioned charitable practices” (p.124). The work of the development practitioner, like the gift of the philanthropist is, on the surface assumed and celebrated to be altruistic. This is especially true in a Canadian context as Heron (2007) shares the myth of the ‘global do-gooder’ as a colonial continuity, preventing development and fundraising for development from originating from a ‘place of integrity’. It becomes easy to buy into the myth and fail to critically examine our own personal and institutional practices that support exploitative gifting practices.

Conclusions

The quote from the opening of chapter five provides an interesting framework for concluding remarks on the development good. In his writing on the Kony 2012 campaign, Teju Cole uses the words of John Berger, “the singer may be innocent but never the song”. This quote can be used as a structure for considering the politics and implications for the development good model. The singer-song differentiation loosely translates onto the split between the interests of capital (the song) and how the model is taken up on a more individual level through gift (the singer).

Transformation- The Song

Going back to the use of Galtung’s (1999) model, by identifying philanthropy as a medium through which the role of capital is expanded, the power relations and ideological interests that underpin the gift become more visible. Looking back at chapter six, the philanthropic investments of Barrick Gold and the Munk family are strategically linked to their market position and policy interests. I refer to this discussion as ‘the song’ because these are the relationships and structures (the models, the development good, state actors, private sector actors and civil society) that tend to represent political and economic ideological formations or manifestations of ideology that communicate a better way of living and a path to achieve that vision that protects those in positions of power.

The response to social injustice put forward by the development good is based in the market (rather than civil society, re-organization of society or an overhaul of the economic system) and demands consumption. This re-positioning of capital happens through the communicative processes around the gift and conceals a) the hand of capital

in creating injustice b) the impacts of increased consumptions c) the strategic interests of CSR.

Here, I would argue that the gift, and more specifically the development good, is a song composed primarily by economic actors to ensure brands create new meaning through commodities and fuel consumption all of which act to re-articulate capital as caring and facilitate capitalism's desire for expansion and colonization within the field of development. As John Berger notes, there is no innocence in the song but in the case of the development good a rather calculated effort to protect and enhance the role of consumption. I'm not arguing that celebrity enthusiasts and corporate CEOs are huddled together in backrooms plotting the development good's exploitation of, and domination over, global populations on the basis of profit alone. I am, however, suggesting that the withdrawal of public funds, reliance on private funding, trends toward market responses and the expansion of the market in field of development create mutually reinforcing processes that privilege capital in response to development challenges at the expense of civil society and the state. As Edwards (2008) has noted, market models fail to capture and address the politics and the power dynamics of an issue. This creates a situation in which models run the risk of being trapped responding to the symptoms of inequality rather than addressing the roots of injustice and exploitation, making one wonder if the development good song is one worth singing.

Participation-The Singer

Berger is more generous when it comes to 'the singer' as he notes that he or she is sometimes innocent. The singer is the one who recognizes the model as gift and initiates

the chain of support. The singer, naturally, sings. This act is what validates or legitimizes the song and brings it to life. The singer – song analogy is especially appropriate given that singers often don't fully understand or have the intimate details of the songs creation or purpose. The singers sometimes engage with the song on a superficial aesthetic or sentimental level. Other times, a singer's connection is deep, intentional and purposeful, creating an opportunity to encode their own meaning into its delivery. This provides the singer with power as they execute the material but their agency is fairly limited in that they can only maneuver within a very set script.

The innocence of the singer in relation to the development good gets to that conflict between structure, intentions, emotions, performance and implications. I would add to Berger's model, the singer-songwriter to create a space for the blurring of lines between the structural interests of capital and state (depending on the context) and individual participation (which is more idealized). Here perhaps celebrity enthusiasts, Bono, Bob Geldof, NGOs, communications partners, the media and some government officials find themselves supporting the gift are relatively well intentioned but also complicit in that they are more indirectly popularizing the model. The singer-song analogy represents the interplay between capital and gift in the development good model but it also gently speaks to who ultimately benefits the most- symbolically perhaps the singer but in terms of material reward it would likely be the songwriter.

Why is the singer so drawn to the song? The obvious answer is that the singer is constructed through the song. To use the example of gender to illustrate some of the functions served by the gift, Heron, in the text *Desire for Development* (2007), explores

the intersections of race, nation, class and gender in the construction of white female subjectivity. A former aid worker herself, Heron's position is that notions of assistance and gift are so tied up with the construction of identity that women's (speaking from a Canadian context) desire for international development can be very much about the construction of self or 'desire for self'. This is very much inline with gift theorist's discussion of the gift in the construction of identity of donor and recipient (Jefferess, 2002; Mauss, 1990; Derrida, 1992, Bourdeiu, 1977). The 'other' is a necessary entity in the formation of identity, even though it contradicts the ideals of the development project. Heron points to the 'legacy of the good woman' accompanied by collective 'global guilt' that frame the field of development as the rather iconic model of assistance. As previously noted, the functions served by the gift are as unique and individual as the givers themselves but it is clear that the development good creates a space for the fulfillment of many impulses and motivations to give.

First, Do No Harm

For the singer, it is difficult to navigate questions of who benefits and how, particularly when the market is mediating processes of 'change'. The pull to 'just do something' is so strong that something, anything, appears better than doing nothing at all. This debate was visited in chapter five's discussion of the impact of Kony 2012. Well-intentioned acts, however, sometimes produce very contradictory results. The response of Ugandans to the Kony video speaks to the disconnect, even gulf, that can erupt between how 'aid' and 'assistance' is structured by interventions and how such initiatives are interpreted against local perceptions of assistance.

As discussed in chapter six, another example of notions of development intersecting with harm might be the very famous *Live Aid* concert in 1985. Foucault proclaimed, “visibility is a trap” (1977, P.97). This is an interesting point of entry for considering action in relation to discussions of ‘philanthropy’, ‘charity’ and ‘development’. Bob Geldof’s *Live Aid* concert series represented a new phase in humanitarian response and generated tremendous financial support (Cooper, 2008), yet the faces of drought -affected families sensationalized through *Live Aid* have remained in the consciousness of people around the world and continue to impact the economic development of the country to this day (Tenove, 2007).

Paulo Freire (1990) first published *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* in English in 1970. This seminal text describes true dialogue as praxis (which holds the potential for change and transformation) as comprised equally of action and reflection. Thrown out of balance, one is guilty of activism (which sacrifices critical reflection) and verbalism (sacrifices action in favour of rhetoric). The rush to ‘do something’ in the field of development evokes Freire’s conceptualization of activism. Action is sometimes privileged over thoughtfulness and the consequences of a failure to reflect on the gift can be tragic.

Although the examples of *Live Aid* and even Kony 2012 are not exactly the same as the development good, they both highlight the potential for unintended negative consequences of foreign intervention in the field of development. Looking back to Cole’s (2012) response to the Kony 2012 he advocates for a ‘first, do no harm’ approach to development and development fundraising. The value in this caution is that it shifts attention away from the event of the gift, its celebrated status and good intentions, to

carefully consider the far-reaching, and sometimes violent, implications of the gift. This common-sense response provides an interesting counterpoint to calls to action by putting the breaks on campaigns that have not fully thought through the meaning, power and politics of the gift. Considering the corporate perspective, private sector gifts become especially challenging as the instruction to 'first do no harm' requires a broad examination of operations. Richey and Ponte (2011) situate these corporate development campaigns as problematic because part of responding to 'distant others' means that there is little opportunity for 'talk back' and as consumers we have little knowledge of the 'on the ground' impacts of our decisions to support various causes. A very simple question illuminates the structural relations often concealed in philanthropy and gift but it also reveals how very little we know about the processes in which we are so culturally (and individually) invested.

The second point of reflection that is critical to any form of response: why does one want to participate in a given campaign? Or, in the case of the development good, why do you want to purchase this item? Lukacs opens *Reification and the Consciousness of the Proletariat* with the following quote from Marx "to be radical is to go to the root of the matter. For man, however, the root is man himself" (1971, p. 83). Being truthful about the material and symbolic interests that are tied to notions of the gift and understandings of self is not easy. Heron (2007) writes that as development stakeholders, we have to find ways of acting without dominating others and that this proves very difficult because we are all invested in not seeing the work we do (or the goods we buy) as domination. This is a critical point because in the case of the development good the element of gift allows us

to both imagine and enact who we want to be and how we are ‘expected’ to respond. These expectations are entangled with issues of race, nation, class and gender, among other forces, so deconstructing our interests requires deep reflection.

I want to re-visit the opening quote by Godbout, “the confusion between an observation of what circulates and the meaning of what circulates is the greatest source of misunderstanding in the theory of the gift” (2000, 41). It is that space of misunderstanding and misrecognition or what Komter (2005) refers to as ‘collective self-deception’ that creates a space for imagining and mythologizing the gift- and again, erasing the paradox with which it is surrounded. The current culture of gift allows for a re-imagining of self instead of forcing individuals to take responsibility for the implications of their actions. There should be no discussion of gift without a parallel discussion of meaning and experience of gift. This should begin to bring to light the more concealed interests of the gift, the contradictions in models of gift, the strategic interests of donors, power dynamics invoked, and most importantly, how recipients experience the gift. This will also aid in illuminating more selfless acts of kindness for their beauty and gift.

Sometimes it is not simply ‘the thought that counts’, especially for people on the other end of these ‘Royal Beatings’. By continually tying notions of gift to meaning and experience rather than intention (intentions allow people to shirk responsibility for outcomes) individuals are narrowing that imagined space and demythologizing the gift. In theory, by integrating this reflection into one’s own daily practices (and the choices we

make through the institutions with which we engage) the culture of the gift could be radically altered in our lives and the lives of many.

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